United Nations S/PV.3633

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3633rd Meeting
Friday, 23 February 1996, 4 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Motswagae
	Chile	Mr. Somavia
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Egypt	Mr. Abdel Aziz
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mrs. Lopes da Rosa
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Thayeb
	Italy	Mr. Menzione
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Further report on the situation of human rights in Croatia pursuant to Security Council resolution 1019 (1995) (S/1996/109)

96-85200 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Further report on the situation of human rights in Croatia pursuant to Security Council resolution 1019 (1995) (S/1996/109)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report by the Secretary-General on the situation of human rights in Croatia pursuant to Security Council resolution 1019 (1995), document S/1996/109.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the further report of the Secretary-General of 14 February 1996 (S/1996/109) submitted pursuant to its resolution 1019 (1995) on Croatia.

"The Security Council recalls the statement of its President of 8 January 1996 (S/PRST/1996/2). The Council acknowledges that the incidence of human rights violations has been greatly reduced. However, it expresses concern that isolated incidents of killings and other violations of human rights have been reported. The Council also acknowledges the significant progress made by the Croatian Government in alleviating the humanitarian plight of the mostly elderly Serb population who remain in the former sectors in the Republic of Croatia. The Council looks to the Croatian Government to ensure the security and well-being of that population and to ensure the provision of basic humanitarian assistance, including access to medical facilities, pension allowances and property. The Council also looks to the Croatian Government to pursue vigorously prosecutions against those suspected of past violations of international humanitarian law and human rights against the local Serb minority.

"The Security Council calls upon the Croatian Government to give due consideration to granting amnesty to local Serbs remaining in detention on charges arising from their alleged participation in the conflict.

"The Security Council reiterates that all States must cooperate fully with the International Tribunal and its organs established pursuant to its resolution 827 (1993). It notes that Croatian legislation providing for full cooperation with the International Tribunal is reported to be imminent. The Council urges the Government of the Republic of Croatia to uphold its obligations with respect to the International Tribunal unreservedly and without delay.

"The Security Council remains deeply concerned at the situation of those refugees from the Republic of Croatia who wish to return. It condemns the fact that effective measures have not so far been taken in that respect. It calls upon the Croatian Government to ensure the expeditious processing of all requests from refugees. It underlines that the exercise by members of the local Serb population of their rights, including their right to remain, leave or return to their homes in safety and dignity, and reclaim possession of their property, cannot be made conditional upon an agreement on the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Council demands that the Croatian Government take measures forthwith to ensure that those concerned may fully exercise these rights. The Council also calls upon the Croatian Government to rescind its earlier decision to suspend articles of the constitutional law affecting the rights of national

minorities, and to proceed with the establishment of a provisional human rights court. It reminds the Croatian Government once again that the promotion of strict respect for the rights of persons belonging to the Serb minority is relevant to the successful implementation of the Basic Agreement of 12 November 1995 on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (S/1995/951, annex).

"The Security Council welcomes and supports the Croatian Government's agreement to the establishment by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe of a long-term mission with a view to monitoring respect for human rights throughout the Republic of Croatia. The Council pays tribute to the valuable work carried out by UNCRO and the European Community Monitoring Mission in this field over the past year.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council regularly informed and to report in any case no later than 20 June 1996, drawing *inter alia* on information available from other relevant United Nations bodies, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the European Community Monitoring Mission, on the progress of measures undertaken by the Government of the Republic of Croatia in the light of this statement.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1996/8.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3634

Security Council
Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3634th Meeting
Tuesday, 27 February 1996, 3.10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Letter dated 26 February 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/130)

96-85206 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Letter dated 26 February 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/130)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Cuba in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rodriguez Parrilla (Cuba) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in the letter dated 26 February 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1996/130. Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 26 February 1996 from the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1996/137.

I call on the representative of Cuba.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Thirty-five years ago, in this very Chamber, a United States Ambassador presented photographs and evidence of Cuban military aircraft alleged to have rebelled against our Government and bombed airports in Cuba. A few days later the President of the United States took it upon himself to refute this allegation and acknowledged his Government's responsibility for those actions, which preceded the Bay of Pigs invasion. Today similar slanders are coming from similar sources. Let us hope that honesty and courage will lead to their refutation.

Meanwhile, this Council, frequently slow and negligent, is once again, with its actions today, rushing into a distortion of its mandate under the Charter to safeguard international peace and security. International peace and security are not what is threatened today; it is the peace, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Cuba, which have been endangered for more than 35 years, precisely because of those who today, from a position of strength, are promoting actions against my country and trying to manipulate this Organization and this Council.

During the past 20 months, 25 aircraft originating in United States territory have violated Cuban airspace. In every case this has been officially communicated to the United States interests section in Havana.

The Government of the Republic of Cuba has irrefutable proof that the two aircraft in the present case were in Cuban airspace when they were shot down. On that same day — 24 February — three aircraft originating in the United States had violated Cuban airspace in the morning hours.

Two hours before being shot down, one of the pilots of the aircraft heading for Cuba was warned that defences had been activated in various areas north of Havana and of the risk they would run by entering those areas. He replied that he would fly there despite the prohibition.

Cuba has repeatedly communicated, both publicly and officially to the Government of the United States — including to the Federal Aviation Administration — the dangers to aircraft that such unauthorized flights in our airspace entail. Despite those warnings, which it publicly acknowledges on several occasions, the Government of the United States of America took no effective measures to prevent such flights from taking place in Cuban airspace.

On many occasions, including very recently, Cuban territorial waters and airspace have been violated by organizations based in the United States that, in civilian guise, have committed innumerable terrorist acts, while no effective measures have been taken by the Government of that country to stop such actions originating in its territory.

A few hours ago the testimony of Juan Pablo Roque, one of the pilots of the organization Brothers to the Rescue, was made public. It included irrefutable proof of the links between that organization and the Cuban American National Foundation, which is known to engage in terrorist activity, and ultra-reactionary American Congressmen. The pilot testified that he had been instructed to carry explosives and explore Cuban roads and economic targets where they could be placed.

The pilot's testimony says,

> "For example, in 1993 José Basulto, the President of the organization Brothers to the Rescue, asked me for information on specific stretches of road in the city of Cienfuegos where an aircraft could land and unload explosive charges, to be placed in high tension towers that would then be blown up, thereby affecting the national energy system. I can say that from November 1994 to April 1995 Basulto gave me instructions on anti-personnel pellet weapons that were to be introduced into the country for the purpose of carrying out attacks on persons, particularly attempts against the life of President Fidel Castro."

There is also a plan by which Mr. Basulto wants to link even more closely the anti-revolutionary forces in Miami with elements that might support internal terrorist plans in Cuba.

The pilot stated that Mr. Basulto had personally engineered the purchase of a Czech-made L-29 aircraft, Dolphin model, to train pilots in take-off and landing on various stretches of road and airstrips, with the goal of carrying out direct assaults against Cuban bases and military installations. He went on to point out that the funds for all of these activities originate essentially in the Cuban American National Foundation. He pointed out that the main purpose was to provoke incidents to heighten tension in relations between Cuba and the United States. Finally, he added that he had personally informed Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent Oscar Montoto, under the alias "The Slim Man", of all the operations undertaken by Brothers to the Rescue in violation of Cuban airspace.

Violations of Cuban airspace have increased and become more provocative since the signing and implementation of the migration agreements between Cuba and the United States, the hindering of which is an avowed objective of the organization Brothers to the Rescue. That organization, both before and after the signing of the migration agreements between Cuba and the United States, has been engaged in the illegal transport of immigrants, in violation of Cuban and United States laws and of United Nations norms.

The behaviour of the Government of the United States in attempting to unscrupulously manipulate this incident for political purposes, is fully in keeping with that Government's record of protecting and defending well-known international terrorists, such as Orlando Bosch, Luis Posada Carriles and Hernán Ricardo, all responsible for the murder of 72 persons through the sabotage of an airborne Cuban commercial aircraft in 1976. That genocidal act did not prompt the slightest denunciation by the United States. Instead of bringing the matter to the United Nations, it took it upon itself to guarantee the necessary economic and political resources for protecting the perpetrators.

According to its own statements, Brothers to the Rescue has dedicated itself in recent months to provocative activities intended to subvert Cuba's constitutional order. Its leader, a participant in the events of 24 February, has publicly announced its recent contributions, amounting to thousands of dollars, to illegal organizations operating in Cuba in the service of a foreign Power. The interfering attitude of the United States, in an attempt to legitimize a non-existent right to determine the future of Cuba, has created a provocative context for these organizations, which hope to be able to act with impunity, guaranteed the protection and encouragement of the Government of the United States.

It is regrettable that certain provisions of the Convention on International Civil Aviation are subjected to partial and unilateral interpretation. We are amazed that due reference has not been made to the undue use of civil aviation in terms of article 4 of that instrument, which states:

> "Each contracting State shall agree not to use civil aviation for purposes which are incompatible with the purposes of this Convention."

We are also amazed that in the flagrant manipulation being performed today no reference is made to subparagraph (d) of new paragraph 3 *bis*, which was incorporated into the treaty in 1984, and which clearly stipulates,

> "Each contracting State shall take appropriate measures to prohibit the undue use of civil aircraft registered in that State, or used by a user whose

main office or permanent residence is in that State, for any purpose which is incompatible with the purposes of this Convention."

In that regard, we can construe "incompatible purposes" as those that preclude the purposes contained in article 44 of the Chicago Convention. Thus, examples of incompatible purposes would be those that preclude or endanger the peaceful use of civil aircraft, that are incongruous with the harmonious coexistence of States or that violate a State's own air regulations or those of other States.

The Chicago Convention is one of those treaties containing a preamble that constitutes a commitment by virtue of its structure. Its clauses set forth and determine the purposes for which the provisions of the treaty are to be applied — for example, so that

"the future development of international civil aviation can make a vigorous contribution to the creation and preservation of friendship and understanding among the nations and the peoples of the world, whereas its misuse could constitute a threat to general security."

I should like to draw attention to a note now being disseminated by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations:

"Yesterday, the President of the United States made a statement to the press in further reference to last Saturday's incident, in which two pirate aircraft, originating from a base in Florida, once again penetrated Cuba's maritime space and airspace and were shot down. William Clinton's words were intended, first, to reaffirm the main arguments used to condemn the events from some people's point of view and were therefore nothing new; and, secondly, to announce the measures to be applied against our country.

"As a first step, the President promised agreement with the Congress of his country, with which he has had differences in this regard, in adopting the Helms-Burton bill, which is aimed at further strengthening the blockade of Cuba. He asked for the support of the Security Council in condemning and imposing sanctions on Cuba, a position that contradicts the General Assembly's condemnation, on four consecutive occasions, of the United States economic blockade against Cuba.

"Another measure proposed — the suspension of travel to the island by Cuban-Americans — affects primarily many families living in the United States, mainly in Florida, as well as in our country. The proposal to raise funds to increase the broadcast capabilities of the misnamed Radio Martí is in clear contradiction of the position of some sectors in the United States that advocate cutting the costs incurred by such forms of interference.

"Above and beyond the contradictions and absurdities of these measures, the greater injustice is that they are being taken against a country that is the victim of the blockade, of terrorist acts and of repeated and increasingly arrogant violations of Cuban airspace and maritime space. What measures are to be taken against terrorist organizations that, from United States territory, plan and carry out armed actions and violations of the airspace of a sovereign nation? What measures are to be taken against the authorities of the United States, who have been warned more than once and whose duty it was to prevent these flights?

"There is no reason whatsoever to impose sanctions on Cuba. However, the unfair and cruel measures announced by President Clinton seem meagre to the representatives of the extreme right of Cuban descent in the United States who, in calling for increasingly severe sanctions, only contribute to exacerbating the political climate in the United States with the aim of hamstringing the incumbent President in the 1996 elections. The extreme right based in Miami and its gangs, acting at the margins of American law and having turned that Florida city into their private demesne, have brought their ideas to prevalence through blackmail and terror. The intolerance of these gangsters of the extreme right has become the prevailing norm of conduct there, recalling the worst days of the medieval Inquisition.

"A cable sent out from Miami yesterday by the British news agency Reuters stated that the radio stations in that city continue today to be a forum for the most intransigent and virulent sectors, which have clamoured for embassies and agencies that organize travel to Cuba to be burned down, for aircraft flying to the island to be blown up, for President Fidel Castro to be assassinated or for another invasion to be launched. The dispatch concluded by stating that spokesmen for groups of the extreme right, complaining that the United States

has tied the exiles' hands, have called for war preparations.

"Added to these howls from Florida are the aggressive statements made yesterday in El Salvador by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in which he asserted that President Clinton had not included any military action against Cuba among his measures, but reserved the right to adopt such measures against the island: new threats, new measures against our economy, new actions to intensify the blockade, new laws to bring the people to their knees through hunger and illness.

"The leaders of the United States and the miserable traitors in our country who try to collaborate with them should know: this is a struggle to the death for the fatherland. Cuba does not fear or accept threats. It has heard them in heaps for more than 35 years and has never trembled before them, not even when facing the possibility of nuclear destruction. This position was clearly laid out in the notes sent out recently by the Ministry of Foreign Relations and was reaffirmed yesterday at a press conference by the President of the National Assembly of People's Power, Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada.

"Furthermore, the clear and unwavering position of our small country currently enjoys the solidarity of the most diverse organizations in various parts of the world. Now, after the fact, laments are being heard for the loss of human life, but the bitter truth remains that, when pirate air raids could have been discouraged, prohibited and stopped by those who had the power to do so, repeated warnings were ignored, and some even applauded those reckless adventures.

"These events are taking place as we approach the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Bay of Pigs victory, fully and unflinchingly determined to face and quash again other such attacks as circumstances require, on the basis of our constant will to wage a defensive war that will never end in triumph for the aggressors. Our people's spirit of struggle and victory remains staunch in the face of any threat."

In view of the hour and of the fatigue of representatives, I shall not present in full the notes from my Ministry of Foreign Relations or the chronology of violations of Cuban airspace between 1994 and 1996; these can be made available to delegations in the form of official documents.

On many occasions — and when serving on the Council my country was no exception — Presidents of the Security Council have invoked rule 20 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to demonstrate clearly to the international community that, in line with basic ethical behaviour, they would not attempt to benefit from the prerogatives of their office. Such behaviour has been lacking in this instance, and it is abundantly clear that the fact that the United States is presiding over the Council at this time has engendered a very particular dynamic and very particular features in the Council's work.

I wish in conclusion to make it very clear to the Security Council that neither the presidential statement before it, if issued, nor any other action will be acceptable to Cuba if it does not include a clear, unequivocal condemnation of the acts of aggression against my country carried out from the territory of the United States, a clear condemnation of the flagrant violations of its air space and territorial waters and an explicit condemnation of the terrorist acts against Cuba and its people that have been and continue to be committed and brazenly planned.

We hope that sanity will prevail and that the members of the Security Council will have the wisdom needed to put an end here and now to the unfair, inequitable and grossly manipulative proceedings initiated against my country.

The President: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States reserves its right to respond to the unfounded comments in the statement of the Cuban representative.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The views of the members of the Council will be expressed in a presidential statement at the next meeting of the Council.

The next meeting of the Security Council, to continue consideration of the item on the agenda, will take place immediately following the adjournment of this meeting.

The meeting rose at 3.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3635

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3635th Meeting

Tuesday, 27 February 1996, 3.45 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Letter dated 26 February 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/130)

96-85212 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Shooting down of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996

Letter dated 26 February 1996 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/130)

The President: In accordance with the decision taken at the 3634th meeting, I invite the representative of Cuba to take a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Cueto Milián (Cuba) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council strongly deplores the shooting down by the Cuban air force of two civil aircraft on 24 February 1996, which apparently has resulted in the death of four persons.

"The Security Council recalls that according to international law, as reflected in Article 3 *bis* of the International Convention on Civil Aviation of 7 December 1944 added by the Montreal Protocol of 10 May 1984, States must refrain from the use of weapons against civil aircraft in flight and must not endanger the lives of persons on board and the safety of aircraft. States are obliged to respect international law and human rights norms in all circumstances.

"The Security Council requests that the International Civil Aviation Organization investigate this incident in its entirety and calls on the Governments concerned to cooperate fully with this investigation. The Council requests that the International Civil Aviation Organization report its findings to the Council as soon as possible. The Council will consider that report and any further information presented to it without delay."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1996/9.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3636

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3636th Meeting

Wednesday, 28 February 1996, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mrs. Lopes da Rosa
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Ordzhonikidze
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice (S/1996/51, S/1996/52 and Add.1, S/1996/53 and S/1996/133)

96-85218 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice (S/1996/51, S/1996/52 and Add.1, S/1996/53 and S/1996/133)

The President: I should like to recall that at its 3590th meeting, on 7 November 1995, the Security Council adopted resolution 1018 (1995), in which it decided that the election to fill the vacancy in the International Court of Justice should take place on 28 February 1996 at a meeting of the Security Council and at a meeting of the General Assembly at its fiftieth session.

This morning the Security Council and the General Assembly will proceed independently with the election, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Statute of the Court, for the purpose of filling this vacancy. The list of candidates nominated by national groups and received by the Secretary-General within the required time for submission, that is, by 2 February 1996, is contained in document S/1996/52 and Add.1. Document S/1996/133 contains the name of a candidate nominated by a national group and received by the Secretary-General after 2 February 1996. Document S/1996/53 contains the curricula vitae of the candidates nominated by the national groups.

The Security Council also has before it, in document S/1996/51, a memorandum by the Secretary-General describing the present composition of the Court and setting out the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the election.

I should like to remind the Council that under Article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

> "Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected."

The required majority in the Security Council is eight votes.

Article 15 of the Statute of the Court provides that

> "A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term."

Accordingly, the member elected to fill the remainder of the term left vacant by the death of Judge Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley will serve until 5 February 2000.

The voting will be by secret ballot. When we proceed to the vote, members of the Council will receive a ballot paper containing the names of the candidates. No withdrawal will be accepted once the ballot papers have been distributed. However, it would be possible to withdraw between ballots. Members of the Council will be requested to place an "X" next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. Votes may be cast only for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot paper, and each elector may vote for only one candidate; otherwise, the ballot will be considered invalid. When a candidate has obtained the required majority, I shall notify the President of the General Assembly of the name of that candidate, and I shall request the Council to remain in session pending the receipt from the President of the General Assembly of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

I shall now draw lots to select two delegations to serve as tellers.

* * *

The President: The names of the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Germany have been drawn. I therefore request each of them to appoint one member of their respective delegations to serve as teller.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Welberts (Germany) and Mr. Sane (Guinea-Bissau) acted as tellers.

The President: May I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed with the election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Aguilar Mawdsley?

It is so decided.

The President: I would ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" in the box next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President: I take it that all members of the Council have now voted, and I request the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. I should like to remind the Council that, as we agreed during our consultations, the ballots will not be counted until it has been verified that the ballot papers in the General Assembly have been collected. The Council will remain in session pending the receipt of that information.

* * *

The President: I have now been informed that the ballot papers have been collected in the General Assembly. The counting of the ballots in the Security Council will begin. The tellers will now count the ballots. As agreed in our consultations, there will be two independent countings of the ballots, one by each teller.

* * *

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Gonzalo Parra-Aranguren	9
Mr. Julio A. Barberis	5
Mr. Francisco Villagran Kramer	1

The President: A single candidate, Mr. Gonzalo Parra-Aranguren has accordingly received the required majority of votes in the Security Council.

I shall communicate the results of the vote to the President of the General Assembly in writing. I request the Council to remain in session while we wait for the President of the General Assembly to inform the Council of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

* * *

The President: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have just received from the President of the General Assembly the following letter:

> "I have the honour to inform you that, at the 101st plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held today for the purpose of electing one member of the International Court of Justice, the following candidate obtained an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly: Mr. Gonzalo Parra-Aranguren."

As the Security Council and the General Assembly have agreed on the same candidate, the distinguished jurist Mr. Gonzalo Parra-Aranguren of Venezuela has been elected a member of the International Court of Justice for a term of office expiring on 5 February 2000.

I should like to congratulate Mr. Parra-Aranguren and wish him every success in the high office to which he has been elected. I should also like to thank the tellers for their assistance.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3637

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3637th Meeting

Thursday, 29 February 1996, 4.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavia
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martinez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States

Appointment of the Prosecutor

96-85242 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States

Appointment of the Prosecutor

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1996/139, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1996/139) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1047 (1996).

Let me say, as President of the Council, that I am very pleased that we are able to provide a seamless transition for the important work of the war crimes Tribunals. I think that this is a great step forward and that we should all be proud.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3638

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3638th Meeting

Thursday, 29 February 1996, 6 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1996/112)

96-85248 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1996/112)

The President: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lelong (Haiti) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina), Mr. Rahman (Bangladesh), Mr. Fowler (Canada) and Mr. Tejera-París (Venezuela) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti, document S/1996/112.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/136, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, Chile, France, Honduras, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1996/99, which contains the text of a letter dated 13 February 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter dated 9 February 1996 from the President of Haiti addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Lelong (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Haitian delegation is pleased, Madam, to note the ability, commitment and success with which you are guiding the deliberations of the Security Council as its President for the month of February. Without question, these all bear the mark of your experience and skill; we congratulate you.

As this is our first statement to the Security Council this year, we wish also to congratulate the new members: Chile, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Poland and the Republic of Korea. We are certain that they will do excellent work as members of the Council.

The delegation of Haiti thanks the Security Council for taking under consideration the request made by President René Préval in his letter dated 9 February 1996 for a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). Extending the mandate will make it possible to consolidate the achievements that have been made and to guide the country towards the economic and social development to which the people of Haiti aspire. Continuing the work of UNMIH will encourage the completion of this task through the Mission's support for our new national police force as it gains the experience it lacks and as it continues to acquire the equipment it still needs.

Since its deployment on 31 March 1995, taking over from the multinational force, UNMIH has carried out its mandate with success and excellence. Thanks to its support for the Government, it has been possible to get the country back on track and to begin the task of rebuilding our institutions and our infrastructure, which had been completely destroyed during the three years of the *coup d'état*.

Politically speaking, a great deal has been achieved since the restoration of constitutional order, which has made it possible to look with optimism towards the political future of the country. We have been successful in our effort to make up the backlog which the three years of the *coup d'etat* caused in the political calendar of our country. Legislative, municipal and presidential elections have been carried out normally. Today, whether in Parliament or in the towns of the country, the transfer of power provided for by the Constitution has been respected, and the leaders, honestly and

democratically elected, are performing to general satisfaction.

For the first time in the long history of our country, a democratically elected president has transferred power to another democratically elected president. The inaugural ceremony, which attracted the attention of the entire world because of its size and its scope, was the culmination of the efforts of the Haitian people and the international community to provide Haiti with a democratic regime.

Parliament, which has been reconstituted after the elections of June and September, is playing the role assigned to it by the Constitution, and it is therefore an important factor on the national political scene. The members of Parliament and senators of the Republic take their responsibilities to heart and do not hesitate to request an accounting from the executive branch on the way it is conducting public affairs. The public debate that is taking place on important matters is a dynamic impulse to political life and creates transparency, which is so necessary for confidence and for participation in the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation undertaken in the country.

Regarding the struggle against lack of security which was the main obstacle to the resumption of normal public life and activities, major progress has been achieved. Thanks to the strengthening of the role of public security forces, with the assistance of the United Nations Mission in Haiti, (UNMIH), security has improved. The fear that reigned in the country is now disappearing. The population feels much more confident with the more and more visible presence of the National Police.

Nevertheless, the situation in matters of security remains precarious. Indeed, there are serious risks of disturbances. This was made evident by the attack against two deputies of the Lavalas Movement, one of whom was killed and the other seriously wounded. Violent demonstrations, which caused more than seven deaths and many wounded, broke out spontaneously throughout the country as a result of that act. Likewise, we have seen practically everywhere demonstrations protesting the high cost of living and popular clamours over the persistence of certain economic problems. These expressions of discontentment are a matter of concern for the Government, which is trying to give an adequate response to these outbreaks of violence. In this connection, the role played by the National Police in maintaining security is of paramount importance. The creation of that institution, which is enshrined in the Constitution, has filled in a very important gap.

Today, our young policemen, who are deployed throughout our nine geographical departments, are carrying out remarkable work. This has won the admiration of the populace. They ensure public security, organize patrols, direct traffic and generally assist the population. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that there are certain shortcomings and limits to this newly created body. The policemen still need more experience to be able to perform better their duties. Likewise, the material and equipment they require are lacking, and there is a deplorable lack of training. The Government is paying particular attention to all these points in the hope of finding a solution to them in order to make it possible for the National Police to fulfil successfully its role as the guardian of peace and security.

As far as the judiciary is concerned, despite the improvements in its functioning, it continues to exhibit serious deficiencies. It is obvious that of all the institutions in the country, its structure, functioning and essence are perhaps the most eroded, as was the case in earlier periods. For that reason, it has never responded properly to the requirements of justice for the national majority. Hence, it has been discredited and there has been a tendency to resort to popular justice to punish political crimes.

The creation of the Justice Academy, for that reason, is a measure of great importance. More than 200 judges and prosecutors trained at the Academy, as well as 50 bailiffs are now active. The Government thus intends to provide our courts with more qualified personnel, more capable of performing their functions. At the same time, a programme of renovation and construction of the courts is under way throughout the country.

The Government has also given attention to the problems of the prison system. Steps have been taken to ensure that the prisons, both as regards their functioning and their state of physical repair, are more in accordance with established norms. A new National Penitentiary Administration, the members of which have undergone a training course, are now in charge of the prisons. This has resulted in an improvement in the conditions under which prisoners are held.

One can see, in the light of this account — which is not an exhaustive one, by any means — over the last 16 months, Haiti has undergone sure and positive evolution, which the Security Council, having authorized the sending of the United Nations Mission, must welcome.

Nevertheless, the work is far from complete. The battle for democracy has not been completely won. A long road has been travelled, undoubtedly. Important and meaningful results have been achieved. But elements likely to cause disturbances and to reverse the trend towards progress continue to exist.

The Government is indeed deeply worried by the activities of former military personnel and armed civilians who are very close to the former Haitian army and who disturb public order and constitute a threat to the democratic process under way. It is clear that the enemies of democracy and the state of law have not given up. The appearance of the so-called red army in Cité Soleil could disquiet the population. This group, which seems to have certain links with the drug trade, is responsible for certain disturbances in this heavily populated part of the capital in recent months.

In this context, the departure from Haiti of the UNMIH forces, scheduled for 29 February, would leave a considerable void in the country, which our young National Police, still inexperienced and underequipped, would not be able to tackle properly. This is why President Préval has, as one of his initial official acts, requested the extension of UNMIH's mandate.

We believe that the presence in Haiti of UNMIH for a further period should make it possible for the democratic process to take root and gain strength with the strengthening of our institutions. To leave Haiti now, when a great deal still remains to be done, would only imperil all the efforts made by the international community in aid of the Haitian people, aid which has begun to give striking results. My delegation hopes that the Council will understand the need for and the soundness of this request and will authorize UNMIH to continue its activities in Haiti by adopting the draft resolution now before it.

In this connection, the delegation of Haiti would like to express its gratitude to those delegations that have supported this request. We would particularly like to thank the Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, and the Non-Aligned caucus in the Council — particularly its coordinator, Ambassador Somavía — for their tireless efforts to help Haiti, as well as the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, which has always supported us in our struggle for the return of democracy to Haiti and which also deserves our gratitude. We would also like to extend our sincere thanks to the delegations of the People's Republic of China and of the Russian Federation for their understanding and their support.

In conclusion, I should like to express the gratitude of the people and the Government of Haiti to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, for their dedication to Haiti. We would like to express our gratitude to those countries that have agreed to provide troops and civilian personnel. Finally, we would like to pay tribute to those brave soldiers who have laid down their lives in this Mission so that democracy can once again flourish in Haiti.

The President: I thank the representative of Haiti for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union and of the following associated countries that wish to join with it in this statement: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.

The Security Council's adoption of the resolution to renew the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will represent a positive step towards further consolidating Haitian democracy and institutions. The European Union has repeatedly emphasized the need for the Haitian situation to evolve in such a way as to assure stability, security and peaceful coexistence for all members of Haitian society, fostering economic growth and allowing that country to reap the benefits of the efforts made by the international community.

The election of President Préval was a decisive moment. As the European Union has stated, this made possible the transfer of office from one democratically elected President to another for the first time in Haiti's history. On that occasion, the European Union expressed its confidence that President Préval will complete, in a framework of national reconciliation and justice, the work that his predecessor undertook in difficult conditions.

The Secretary-General's report of 14 February notes the new President's request for the Council to take appropriate steps with a view to bringing about an extension of UNMIH's mandate so that a gradual withdrawal may take place in the months ahead. This request deserves a positive response. The draft resolution proposing the extension of UNMIH's mandate is particularly welcome, as it is in the spirit of completing a process that began with such difficulty.

A positive outcome for the Haiti operation relies also on it being possible, over the next few months, for the various sectors of the population to be made aware that there is no better solution to their country's problems than properly functioning democratic institutions and full respect for human rights. In fact, as has been said on many occasions in the Council, the final outcome of this peace-keeping operation remains in the hands of the Haitian population.

However, it is important to recognize the significant roles played by regional cooperation in solving the Haitian crisis. Of the factors that have led to the success already achieved, the initiatives undertaken by the Organization of American States and its close cooperation with the United Nations have certainly contributed to today's results.

The Secretary-General's report notes the elements of fragility in the creation of an efficient, modern judicial system and an adequate civilian police force. The need for a renewal of UNMIH's mandate is specifically based on such considerations. But we trust that this further commitment of resources by the United Nations at such a critical moment for the financial situation of our Organization will also convey to international public opinion the message that the United Nations has a unique and irreplaceable role.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): At the outset, I should like to welcome to our meeting the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations and ask him to convey to the people of Haiti our wishes for peace and for their success. We are also grateful to him for his kind words addressed to my country.

The Russian Federation attaches great importance to the success of the democratic transformations in Haiti. We support the efforts by the legally elected President, Mr. René Préval, and by the people and the Government of Haiti, to strengthen democracy and the rule of law in their country.

Russia has always taken the uniqueness of the Haitian problem as a given. In essence, the events in Haiti did not and do not threaten regional peace and security. Nevertheless, the Security Council, to accommodate the Government of Haiti and taking into account the exceptional circumstances in that long-suffering tried country, did agree to establish a United Nations peace-keeping operation there.

Since then, the process of stabilizing the situation in Haiti has been forging ahead. In this, the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) has been an enormous help: the Mission's personnel deserve the highest praise. Democratic elections have been successfully conducted and there has been a peaceful transfer of power to the new President, a fact which, incidentally, is welcomed in the draft resolution before the Council today. UNMIH's fundamental goals had already been achieved by February this year, and that is why we originally had it in mind to wrap up UNMIH as soon as 29 February was past, which the Council too had also earlier decided to do.

We are convinced that only a substantial improvement in the social and economic situation in a situation of national reconciliation can create the right conditions for a democratic, stable and secure Haiti to develop. In terms of outside support for these processes, the deciding factor will be stimulating and coordinating the efforts by the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the international financial institutions and the bilateral donors that are providing Haiti with the assistance they have promised.

We do agree that, at this stage, it is also important to provide support for the Haitian national police force that has just been established, as described in detail by the representative of Haiti today. Keeping personnel from the United Nations civilian police in Haiti will help with this.

At the same time, it is no secret that we do have doubts about the advisability of continuing the presence in Haiti of a large United Nations military contingent.

We note with satisfaction that, during the work on the draft resolution, the sponsors took many of our amendments into account and planned for a significant cut in the Mission and for a further review of personnel numbers. However, the main thing is that the text clearly and unambiguously states that what we have here is absolutely the last extension for UNMIH.

The Council's appeal to all States to provide appropriate support to the United Nations in fulfilling UNMIH's mandate is of great significance. We expect that the principle that peace-keeping operations are financed partly on a voluntary basis will be given real meaning through this, and that this will somewhat alleviate the extremely difficult financial state of the Organization.

It is of particular importance that the members of the Council supported Russia's proposal and reflected in the draft resolution the need to shift the centre of gravity of the international presence in Haiti towards solving Haiti's extremely acute social and economic problems. Turning the words in the Council's appeal into actual deeds by the multilateral and bilateral donors would be the best kind of support the Haitian people could have.

It is precisely on this point that we think that we should concentrate, together with the Government of Haiti and the friends of Haiti, especially Haiti's neighbours and those other States with a direct interest in the region's well-being.

Taking all these factors into account, we shall support the draft resolution. We have a feeling of satisfaction because, as a result of constructive and sometimes difficult labour and by establishing an equilibrium between the interests and positions of all the members of the Council, we have succeeded in producing a consensus, generally acceptable solution.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): The Indonesian delegation has followed with events in Haiti with interest, and in this regard we are grateful to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report, which has indeed been invaluable to the Council's deliberations on the future of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

UNMIH has proved to be another United Nations success story. Resolution 940 (1994) clearly spells out its mandate: to assist the Haitian Government in maintaining a secure and stable environment, to protect the Government of Haiti and key installations, to assist in the holding of elections and to professionalize the security forces. These aims have been largely achieved. In less than one year after UNMIH took over from the multinational force, it has achieved some truly impressive goals. Moreover, due to the assistance provided by UNMIH and the international community, Haiti has had free legislative, local and presidential elections.

On 7 February 1996, Haiti achieved an important milestone in experiencing its first peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected President to another since independence in 1804. My delegation believes that these elections have been a positive development in the consolidation of Haiti's democracy. In this regard, we give special thanks to Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi for his leadership, which helped to ensure the success of UNMIH. We would also like to pay tribute to the men and women of UNMIH for their brave and dedicated work in securing peace and stability in Haiti under difficult circumstances.

The Indonesian delegation believes that much of the success in Haiti can be attributed to a unique combination of peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building efforts. In this connection, my delegation stresses the importance of sustained humanitarian and technical assistance, along with financial commitments on behalf of the international community. It is also in this context that we applaud the efforts undertaken by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, along with eight United Nations agencies, for their valuable contributions to the implementation of the emergency economic recovery programme, while paying particular attention to the developmental aspects of their activities.

It is also my delegation's view that internal security and economic development in Haiti will remain elusive without a strong system of justice. In this regard, we are pleased that major advances are being made in the creation of a professional Haitian National Police Force, in its prison system and in judicial infrastructure.

Despite the considerable progress that has been achieved towards national reconciliation, democratic rule and reconstruction in Haiti, my delegation cautions against unbridled optimism. The simple fact remains that much still needs to be accomplished before sufficient momentum in the development of Haiti's institutions is established. The fragile nature of stability is made evident by the recent reports of looting, arson and common crime that have occurred in various parts of Haiti. My delegation is also concerned with reports of deteriorating economic conditions, including a depreciating currency, higher unemployment and underemployment, rising inflation, a decline in private investment and revived instances of capital flight.

Haiti stands at a crossroads. While significant progress has been made since its return to a constitutional Government, challenges persist. The first obstacle that

must be surmounted is the smooth transition of power, which we deem to be a prerequisite for sustaining both internal and international confidence. Additionally, we note that at this time the National Police Force is not adequately trained or fully operational, which is a vital aspect for moving Haiti away from its turbulent past and pointing it in the direction of political stability, lasting democracy, constitutional order, economic prosperity and national reconciliation. In both these instances the presence of UNMIH has had a qualitative impact.

After careful consideration, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council, which calls for the final extension of the UNMIH mandate. We feel that the new Government of Haiti and its people will significantly benefit from the additional assistance provided for in this draft resolution. Above all, we cannot fail to note the request made by the President of Haiti to the Secretary-General for the continued presence of UNMIH for some months. However, given the tremendous financial burdens placed on the United Nations, we support the idea that interested countries should make every effort to provide voluntary contributions in order to assist the United Nations in financing UNMIH.

Furthermore, in consideration of recent developments in Haiti, we believe that the emphasis of UNMIH personnel should be directed towards bolstering the Civilian Police Force to reflect more accurately and compensate for the changing nature of Haiti's security needs and present condition.

In this context, therefore, my delegation underscores the importance of transferring tasks from UNMIH to the Government of Haiti so that they will be adequately prepared fully to assume responsibility for their security and stability at the conclusion of this mandate. We stress, however, that while UNMIH, with the generous support of the international community, has made a profound contribution to easing the harsh humanitarian conditions in Haiti and assisting in building its institutions, the ultimate responsibility for achieving lasting national reconciliation and reconstruction resides with the people of Haiti.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Madam President, in this twilight of your presidency, the Botswana delegation takes great pleasure in saluting you and your record of achievement as President of our Council during this very long month of February. We thank you for keeping us awake until dawn on Monday and for your tenacity of purpose throughout this hypertensive week. We wish you a restful retirement from the presidency of the Council.

The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) has done a commendable job in assisting the Haitian authorities in sustaining a secure and stable environment, in organizing successful municipal and legislative elections and, above all, in managing the smooth transition from one democratically elected president to another — no mean feat, given the tortured political history of Haiti. But our most ardent commendations deservedly go to the people of Haiti themselves, who have demonstrated great determination and unity of purpose in rejecting the old oligarchic and despotic rule and embraced a new democratic culture. One might say that UNMIH has done such a wonderful job that it has put itself out of a job. Yet a lot still remains to be done in the country.

Almost everything in Haiti hinges on the question of the security situation in the country: the consolidation of democracy, the rule of law, foreign and domestic investment and economic development generally would thrive only if peace and security were assured in the country. It is true that today there is no major direct internal threat to the security of Haiti and that Haiti does not pose a threat to regional peace and security, thanks to the efforts and presence of UNMIH. But Haiti still has to grapple with the building of the state of law and an effective judiciary. There still remains bitter opposition in many of Haiti's small political parties, in the wealthy and powerful elite and in remnants of the former Haitian army and paramilitary groups.

In other words, the democratic process and the continued existence of a secure and stable environment in Haiti need a formative or maturation period much longer than we could have foreseen. Small problems such as those that exist in Haiti today can become large and unmanageable tomorrow if they are allowed to fester. What we are calling for is a "mop-up action", as they say, such as a good general would undertake after a successful battle.

Botswana therefore supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Haiti until we can be relatively certain about the security situation in the country.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for his very kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since October 1994, when former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to Haiti, the

international community has seen progress achieved in that country in strengthening its democracy and institutions, goals towards which the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) has made a significant contribution.

Indeed, the presidential elections held in December 1995 were an essential element in the consolidation of constitutional order in Haiti. However, some aspects related to the internal security and economic and social development of that country remain unresolved. In Haiti, enormous social and humanitarian problems must still be faced, the roots of instability and insecurity eradicated and the achievements of democracy shored up.

One of the most sensitive aspects in Haiti is the question of internal security and common crime. Despite the progress that has been made in the training of police personnel and the provision to them of some equipment, with the assistance of several States and the cooperation of UNMIH, much remains to be done to ensure that Haiti has a sufficiently large and properly trained and equipped police force.

We therefore call on the States Members of this Organization to continue to contribute the financial and technical resources necessary to establish a professional Haitian National Police force. Similarly, contributions must be made to improve the prison and judiciary systems, which, according to the Secretary-General's report, are in a critical situation and lack the infrastructure and equipment necessary for normal functioning.

Another important aspect for the consolidation of democracy in Haiti that my delegation wishes to stress, and which was correctly identified by various financial institutions in December 1995, is the indissoluble link in Haiti between security and development. In recognizing that principle, many institutions have affirmed that the main objective of United Nations system's involvement in Haiti should be to alleviate poverty, that to ensure sustainable development, better governance is needed and the environment must be protected and regenerated.

In truth, to ensure development in Haiti, it is important for international economic cooperation to continue, because the island's socio-economic prospects remain weak. It is encouraging to know that the Bretton Woods institutions, the Inter-American Development Bank and the European Union will pursue the negotiations with the new Government that were initiated in January this year on a set of structural adjustment measures that are crucial to the Haitian economy.

We must recognize that, thanks to the activities of the United Nations Mission in Haiti, it has been possible to maintain a climate of stability in the country, as witnessed in the peaceful and orderly transfer of power to the new President, René Préval.

My delegation feels that the continued United Nations presence in that country is necessary to consolidate the progress achieved and to assist the Haitian Government in fulfilling its obligations to maintain conditions of security and stability and to establish a professional Haitian National Police force, activities that are set out in the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace" and its supplement as post-conflict peace-building measures. We therefore agree that UNMIH's mandate should be extended.

We hope that the adoption of the draft resolution before us will be accompanied by a renewed commitment on the part of the people and the Government of Haiti to peace, democracy and national reconstruction, because in the final analysis they are the architects of their own destiny.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): With the change of guard taking place in several hours, let me add the voice of my delegation to that of the Ambassador of Botswana in praising the outstanding achievements under your leadership, Madam President, in the month of February, which you characterized as the "longest shortest month" of the year.

For their valuable efforts, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, his Friends for Haiti and troop- contributing countries of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to bring security and stability to Haiti. Our special thanks to Mr. Brahimi, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his commendable dedication and leadership.

Although Latin America and the Caribbean moved towards the general trend of politico-economic liberalization in the post-cold-war era, Haiti was one of the few unfortunate exceptions. With the help of the international community, however, considerable progress has been made in the restoration of democracy in Haiti.

Among the positive steps which have been taken since the extension of UNMIH's mandate seven months ago, the peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected president to another through free elections — to which the Ambassador of Haiti so proudly

referred in his statement — marks a watershed in the political development of Haiti. We congratulate the Government and the people of Haiti on this monumental feat and sincerely hope that the Haitian Government will continue to consolidate the achievements in this field.

Much of this progress can be attributed to the valuable contributions of UNMIH, which has facilitated Haiti's path to democracy by sustaining a secure and stable environment and providing indispensable support to the Haitian Government and its people. Indeed, through the commitment and hard work of its staff, UNMIH has successfully carried the peace-keeping operation over into post-conflict peace-building, thereby realizing one of the key concepts of "An Agenda for Peace".

I would also like to note that the Haitian experience has demonstrated the imperative need for close cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. Needless to say, the activities of this world body can be most effective when strongly supported and assisted at the regional level. By the same token, regional endeavours are most fruitful when reinforced by the support of the global community. My delegation considers that the close collaboration between UNMIH and the Organization of American States (OAS) has brought optimal benefits to the peace-keeping efforts in Haiti, as in the cases of Georgia and Liberia.

As of now, however, the situation in Haiti is still tenuous and requires continued vigilance by the international community. In particular, long-term stability in Haiti requires the establishment of a fully functioning police force capable of independently maintaining law and order and a far-reaching reform of the judicial system. We have attached marked importance to the institution-building process in Haiti and have particularly recognized the urgent need for adequate resources to equip the Haitian police. It is in this context that Korea has already donated $200,000 to the United Nations Trust Fund for the Haitian Police created under resolution 975 (1995).

The socio-economic problems plaguing Haiti deserve equal attention. As noted in the preamble of the draft resolution, economic development is an integral element for securing a lasting peace in Haiti. Simply put, without food and jobs for the people, peace and security cannot be guaranteed. Now that the political situation has begun to stabilize, the international community should place increased focus on the economic and social development of Haiti.

It is in this spirit that my delegation welcomes the long-term financial commitments of the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations development agencies to the economic reconstruction of Haiti. We are likewise pleased to note that 16 Latin American and Caribbean countries under the sponsorship of the Latin American Economic System and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) are negotiating 144 development cooperation projects with the Haitian authorities. We also look forward to the firm commitment of the Haitian Government to carrying out economic reforms which will create an environment conducive to further inducing foreign investment and assistance.

It is evident that the people of Haiti bear the ultimate responsibility for their own destiny. However, in order to sustain the momentum of the ongoing process of democratization and economic and social stabilization in Haiti until the Haitians can assume direct and sole responsibility for their future, we support the continued presence of UNMIH for a period of four months with a reduced troop level of 1,200, as provided for in the draft resolution. For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Let me also say how impressed I am, Madam President, by your performance as the President of the Security Council, and that despite all the complex time- and energy-consuming debates you thought of us on Valentine's Day. Thank you very much.

At the outset allow me to point out that the Polish delegation associated itself with the statement on Haiti delivered by the Italian delegation on behalf of the European Union.

It was with great hope that we welcomed on 7 February 1996 the first democratic presidential succession in Haiti's turbulent history.

We acknowledge the enormous tasks that the duly elected President is faced with, and we judge his request for a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to be particularly well grounded.

We strongly believe that such an extension would contribute to strengthening the fragile institutions of Haitian democracy and to making the Haitian

Government more functional. It would allow the UNMIH forces to complete the work that they have embarked upon, and thus it would enable the Government of Haiti to profit fully from the efforts of the international community to lift Haiti out of political, social and economic destitution.

Since lasting democracy requires the solid foundation of law, the process of building a functioning judicial system and a professional civilian police force in Haiti is of paramount importance for the future of that country. In this respect, the assistance of the United Nations Mission in Haiti continues to be indispensable, and it is precisely for this reason that the renewal of the UNMIH mandate is specifically aimed at giving the new Haitian National Police more time to gain experience and at attending to the revitalization of Haiti's system of justice. Since these are principally peace-building tasks, we think that the extension of the UNMIH mandate may also be regarded as a useful exercise in the transfer from mainly peace-keeping to essentially peace-building activities of United Nations operations.

A successful completion of the operation in Haiti is badly needed — most of all by its people, who have suffered so much and who have just been given more than hope. The success is also needed by the international community, which has desperately tried to help the Haitian nation at a time of dramatic transition.

And lastly, we, the United Nations, need a democratic and properly functioning Haiti among us. This is still to quite an extent a matter of our responsibility and — also very important — of our credibility. We have an excellent chance to show the world that the United Nations is effective in a difficult and sensitive area of maintaining international peace and security, and we must not miss that chance.

The Polish delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We want to emphasize that the burden of the tasks assumed by UNMIH must not be underestimated. I would like to express here our sincere gratitude to the Governments of those States that have already contributed and that will contribute their troops to the operation in Haiti. They deserve our highest praise.

The President: I thank the representative of Poland for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Mano Queta (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): Like previous speakers, I wish to congratulate you, Madam President, on the wisdom, skill and great patience with which you have conducted our work during the month of February.

First of all, my delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report on the progress achieved during the fulfilment of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), which describes the main events that have taken place in Haiti since the submission of the preceding report on 6 November 1995 and which contains an assessment of the results achieved by the United Nations, as well as recommendations on the role that the Organization should continue to play in order to consolidate the gains in that country.

Allow me, through you, Madam President, to pay a tribute to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide for the authority and wisdom with which he committed his country to the path of democracy. My delegation would be remiss if it let pass this opportunity to offer President René Préval our best wishes for success in the accomplishment of his tasks. Our praise and admiration go also to the Haitian people for their exemplary attitude, which was a determining factor during the elections. My delegation also expresses its gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and to the members of UNMIH for their commitment.

My country welcomes the Secretary-General's current report, which some contains very positive and encouraging elements regarding the United Nations Mission in Haiti and congratulates UNMIH for the progress achieved during the fulfilment of its mandate, as set out in resolution 940 (1994), to assist the Haitian Government in maintaining a safe and stable climate, to protect international personnel and essential installations, to ensure the desired conditions for the holding of elections and to create a new professional police force.

My delegation is firmly convinced that the Haitian Government and people bear prime responsibility for the political, economic and social reconstruction of Haiti. However, it wishes to stress that the continued support of the international community is essential to ensure that lasting peace and stability are established in that country. In this regard, we ask the international community to continue to provide its support to the Haitian people so that it can make a real commitment to the way of democracy, peace, tolerance and prosperity, essential conditions for any lasting economic and social development.

We support the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend UNMIH's mandate because we feel that now more than ever the Haitian people needs the presence of the United Nations to consolidate the progress achieved, and, therefore, the withdrawal of UNMIH could compromise the process of democratization under way.

Guinea-Bissau will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea-Bissau for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt): Allow me at the outset to express the appreciation and the admiration of my delegation, Madam President, for the sterling leadership qualities you have so competently demonstrated throughout this month.

(Spoke in Arabic)

I would like at the outset to express my thanks to the Secretary-General for his report, which gives a positive picture of the situation in Haiti and a clear indication that the United Nations has brought about a sure success, whether in terms of the lessening of tension and acts of violence or in terms of beginning to establish the institutions required for the building of a modern State.

The United Nations Mission in Haiti has contributed effectively in supporting the democratic changes witnessed in Haiti recently — which culminated in the peaceful transfer of power to the President-elect, René Préval — in establishing the pillars of a newborn democracy and in assisting the Haitian Government to maintain security and stability in a transitional period. In this connection, my delegation would like to commend the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, who has shown his usual wisdom, vision and leadership skills.

Egypt's position *vis-à-vis* this draft resolution stems from the close relationship between the social and economic development badly needed in Haiti and the importance of the international presence there, which reflects the importance of maintaining stability in the country. Egypt's position is based on our belief in the inalienable right of developing countries to be given assistance whenever they so require. If a developing country sends an S.O.S. to the United Nations asking for an international presence to protect and maintain security on its territory, it is very important, from our point of view, that this should be approved.

On this basis, Egypt supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission for an extra four months in order to support and promote stability and security and to contribute to the training of the Haitian National Police force so that it can assume that role after the mandate ends. Concerning the size of this Mission, Egypt's position reflects our conviction that United Nations peace-keeping operations must have the size and power needed to implement fully their mandates.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the very delicate balance in this draft resolution is a good basis for the new aspects of the mandate that are set out in paragraph 5. The delegation of Egypt believes that the Council should adopt this draft resolution and that the General Assembly should take up its role in post-conflict peace-building so that, receiving appropriate international support for its efforts in the areas of social and economic development, Haiti can reap the rewards of this endeavour.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China)(*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese Government has all along attached importance to and supported the peace process in Haiti, as well as the positive efforts made by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Organization of American States, Latin American countries and the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) in restoring peace and stability in Haiti, and we hope that the Haitian people will soon be able to live in happiness and peace. It is in this spirit that the Chinese delegation has voted in favour of an overwhelming majority of the resolutions on this question that have been adopted by the Council so far.

We are pleased to note that substantive progress has been made in the Haitian peace process, thanks to the help of the United Nations and the international community. Parliamentary, local and presidential elections in Haiti have concluded smoothly. The President-elect has officially taken office. The task of creating a police force in Haiti has been completed. The security situation in Haiti has also improved markedly. The primary task now facing Haiti is rehabilitation and reconstruction. The question of security is undoubtedly important for Haiti's development. However, both the

maintenance of a secure environment and economic development can ultimately depend only on the Haitian people themselves. The help of the international community in the process can play only a supplementary and promotive role. In this regard, other United Nations bodies and some countries can play a proper role. At the same time, considering precedents in other United Nations peace-keeping operations and the current serious financial difficulties of the United Nations, we believe that the United Nations Mission in Haiti should withdraw as scheduled.

However, considering the recommendation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, the request of the Haitian Government and the attitude of the Latin American and non-aligned countries on the question of UNMIH, the Chinese delegation exercised maximum flexibility during the Council's consultations and did its best to find a compromise proposal. In view of the fact that the draft resolution before us has basically incorporated the amendments by the Chinese delegation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The Chinese Government will, as always, support the peace process in Haiti and is ready to establish and develop friendly relations of cooperation with Haiti on the basis of the United Nations Charter and the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We are convinced that the Haitian people, under the leadership of their new President, His Excellency Mr. Préval, will be able to build Haiti into a peaceful, stable and prosperous country, thus making their contribution to peace and development in Latin America and the world as a whole.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/136.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1048 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): My delegation is equally unanimous, Madam: in congratulating you on this success at the end of your presidency this month, and in thanking you for your most warm and effective conduct of our deliberations during this extremely busy and somewhat eventful month.

My delegation would also like to express its respects and welcome to the representative of Haiti, who sits at the Council table today, and to congratulate him on the successful achievements which he outlined to us.

The story of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) has been a notable success for the United Nations. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, those Member States which have given particular assistance to the process, and the Government and people of Haiti are to be congratulated on the progress which has been achieved. Elections have been held, and power has been peacefully transferred from one democratically elected President to another. In all this, the contribution of the United Nations has been vital and imaginative, embracing the promotion both of stability and of development in one of the world's poorest countries.

But, as this resolution makes clear, there is still much for UNMIH to do. Its mission is now at a delicate stage. Security and stability have yet finally to be assured. There is more work to be done, particularly in relation to the National Police force.

It is for these reasons that my Government strongly supports this resolution. Indeed, we would have supported even more strongly a resolution more in line with the recommendations of the Secretary-General and with the wishes of the primary troop contributors and of the Government of Haiti. We have found it difficult to understand some of the problems which have been raised over the strength of the force and the duration of its mandate.

We pay a particularly warm tribute to the Government of Canada for the lead that it has taken in making UNMIH's continuation possible. It is a source of great satisfaction to my delegation that UNMIH will now be able to continue its mission into the stabilization phase.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As you come to the end of your term as President of the Security Council, I congratulate you, Madam, on your talent, wisdom, sense of humour and determined exercise of authority — but above all on your refined practice of providing cookies in your office.

I welcome the representative of Haiti to the Security Council. I salute the clarity of his statement and I am particularly grateful to him for having kindly made mention of me personally.

I thank the Secretary-General for his positive report on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). My delegation congratulates all the members of the team that worked on it. We sincerely echo the words of praise in the final two paragraphs of the report for all those who participated in and contributed to the success of the Mission.

As other representatives have said, for the first time in the history of Haiti there has been a change of Government and of President through a democratic electoral process declared by international observers to have been clean, impartial and peaceful. This unprecedented event was made possible by the firm support of the international community for the efforts of the people of Haiti and of the legitimate authorities of that country. The crucial role of the United Nations has been unanimously recognized, as has the fact that this has been among the most successful operations carried out by this Organization.

The new extension of the mandate of UNMIH, which Chile supported, is a clear indication of the Security Council's interest in the great political advances achieved in Haiti and of its determination to continue to support and consolidate the ongoing peace process.

Haiti has become, along with Costa Rica, one of the two countries in our region to depend solely on internal forces and police for its security and public order. It is therefore necessary to strengthen, train and professionalize the police and to instill in it a culture of democracy.

In this second phase of the work of UNMIH we should lay the groundwork for a fitting transition to and consolidation of a climate conducive to investment and development. We in the Latin American and Caribbean region have made enormous efforts to support Haiti; the report of the Secretary-General makes special mention of this. Regional institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the Organization of American States have also made considerable and sustained contributions. We in the region renew our hope that we will be able to continue our intensive cooperation, with a view especially to building Haiti's ability to make good use of the resources that the international community has made available to Haiti for its reconstruction. We agree with the report of the Secretary-General that special attention must be given to poverty alleviation and to restoring macroeconomic equilibrium.

Let me take note of one important element of the resolution we have just adopted. As members will recall, from the time of the January 1992 meeting of the Security Council at the level of Heads of State or Government, the Council's official concept of peace was no longer the mere absence of armed conflict, but became an integral concept of peace that indissolubly linked its two constituent parts: security and development. In adopting the present resolution, the Council has reaffirmed that concept by

> "Recognizing the link between peace and development and that a sustained commitment by the international community to assist and support the economic, social and institutional development of Haiti is indispensable for long-term peace and stability in the country". (*S/1996/136, ninth preambular para.*)

Another reason for great satisfaction is the fact that the Council's support for Haiti is aimed at restoring democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean — a primary objective for the countries of our region. International support, in particular from the United Nations system, is critical to the task of consolidating the values and the culture of democracy. To achieve this goal, it is in the economic and social field that the greatest efforts must be made. It will be difficult for those who must daily face a lack of the basic necessities of life to commit themselves to a democratic system unless it brings about a genuine improvement in their low standard of living.

That is why the United Nations cannot consider its mission to be accomplished if there is merely an apparent climate of calm. The Security Council must ensure the continuation of the operations of the system, so that other bodies can undertake economic reconstruction and

rehabilitation in an ongoing consolidation of the peace that has been achieved through the transition to democracy in which the country is now engaged.

I want to take particular note of Canada's offer of a significant contingent, which will enable UNMIH to fulfil its mandate. As the representative of Canada has made known to us informally, that contingent will be completely financed by his country, in line with the request in paragraph 11 of today's resolution. Even though Canada has not yet formally advised the Council of this, I want to note that this is the kind of commitment and decision that engenders true belief in what the United Nations stands for. I thank the representative of Canada for what his country has done.

The non-aligned members of the Security Council and all the States of Latin America and the Caribbean expressed in timely fashion the high political priority they attach to a renewed mandate for UNMIH. I therefore wish to thank all the members of the Council that showed the necessary flexibility in order to arrive at this agreement. It was a complex and sometimes intensive process, but I never lost hope that in the end, the collective responsibility of all the members of the Council to respond with vision and with foresight to the needs of the Haitian people would prevail. This is a sign of trust in Haiti; it is a gesture of solidarity with the people of Haiti and a responsible exercise of the authority of the Council and of its individual members. Chile welcomes this decision.

The President: I thank the representative of Chile for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Henze (Germany): Let me first join other speakers in thanking you, Madam President, for the way in which you have directed the work of the Council in the month of February. You have demonstrated an admirable combination of patience, drive and perseverance, which did not prevent late-night meetings, but which was always successful in bringing about results which could be accepted by all of us.

We associate ourselves fully with the statement made by Italy on behalf of the European Union. We had strongly supported the first draft resolution, which was presented by the Friends of Haiti and which was in line with the report of the Secretary-General and the request of the Government of Haiti. We are therefore less happy with the final outcome of the informal consultations in the Council. As was stated by other speakers, we know that more time is needed to help create a really stable situation in Haiti.

Germany believes, however, that the improvements which have been achieved in Haiti could have been jeopardized by an immediate withdrawal of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). That is why we voted for the resolution adopted today despite the misgivings I have expressed.

In the four months to come, UNMIH will continue to contribute to the maintenance of a secure and stable environment for the rebuilding of the country and to the establishment of a well-trained Haitian National Police to which these functions will be transferred.

We congratulate the Government of Haiti, whose permanent representative we welcome today in the Council, and the people of Haiti on the progress already achieved, especially in the political field. The first peaceful transition from one democratically elected president to another in the history of the country is one of the positive developments that deserve special mention.

We are confident that the new Haitian leadership under President Préval will contribute to national reconciliation and the creation of a national consensus that unites all parts of Haitian society in an effort to rebuild and develop the country. A united effort by all Haitians will be indispensable for further substantial progress in the political, economic and social fields.

It is our sincere hope that UNMIH, even under this limited mandate, will help Haiti in its efforts to stabilize and rebuild the country and to continue on the way towards the establishment of strong democratic structures. My country has actively supported the efforts of the international community to consolidate the democratic order in Haiti. We provided election observers for the parliamentary and local elections in June and September 1995, as well as for the presidential elections in December. Together with our partners in the European Union, and as a member of various international organizations, we are providing economic assistance for Haiti. Bilaterally, we have at present earmarked DM 105 million — about $72 million — for economic cooperation with Haiti. The main focus of this cooperation is a food security programme.

Let me take this opportunity to thank all those countries which are contributing troops to UNMIH. Furthermore, I would like to extend our deep condolences to the Governments and the families of all those who have given their lives to fulfil this important

mission. Finally, we are particularly grateful to Canada, which helped find the solution to our problem by making a very generous offer.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dejammet (France) *(interpretation from French)*: The French delegation is happy for you and for the country you represent because your presidency was marked throughout this month by energy, dynamism, great kindness, understanding and, fortunately, also a good dose of humor. All this has been crowned with success by the unanimous adoption of resolution 1048 (1996).

This outcome is especially pleasant for me because it responds to the request of a country dear to us, Haiti. The Permanent Representative of Haiti expressed this request with great skill and conviction, and we are happy to congratulate him on his first appearance in this forum. The request is proof of Haiti's commitment to democracy, and it also ties in with the United Nations effort to nurture the beneficial effect it has had in Haiti. I think that this success must be highlighted, because it is a success for the Organization, for the Member States, for the Secretariat and also for the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, who has brought to bear in Haiti a degree of energy, doggedness and patience to which we must all pay a tribute.

This success of the United Nations deserves support because, after the deployment of the multinational force, which allowed for the return of the president to Haiti, the presence of the UNMIH Blue Helmets allowed Haiti to experience, for the first time in its history, a peaceful political transition. It led to the taking of office by the new, democratically elected president, Mr. Préval which we welcomed. It made it possible to maintain a safe and stable environment, and it is this safe and stable environment that we have supported today.

The role played by the United Nations in Haiti could have been completed after the presidential elections. But the new President felt that his country needed, for a few more months, the presence of an international force that would maintain security and stability and, especially, as the representative of Haiti quite rightly pointed out, to continue the training of the police. The resolution we have just adopted responds to that request. It is the expression of the international community's continuing solidarity with Haitians, which we welcome.

The resolution provides for the deployment of contingents and policemen. It requests all States to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by the United Nations and its Member States pursuant to this resolution to ensure the implementation of the mandate, as set out in paragraph 5. In this regard, we are aware of the measures taken by certain States, and France can only take delight in the intentions indicated in this area by the Government of Canada. We congratulate Canada for its generosity.

France, for its part, will continue to offer the Haitians its full support, primarily by putting a police contingent at UNMIH's disposal, but it will also continue to provide Haiti with economic assistance which, together with the aid from the international community — and we all hope that this will be the case — will enable Haiti to continue along the path of progress and development.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

Let me join those who have welcomed the representative of Haiti to our midst for this very important occasion.

Today, the Council marks another milestone in Haiti's journey from tyranny to democracy. The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) has helped to ensure a climate of security within which free elections could be held and a new President inaugurated. For the first time in Haiti's history, political power has been transferred from a President elected by the people to a new President also elected by the people, without violence and with respect for democratic principles. That is an advance for freedom and stability throughout this hemisphere, and I was delighted to represent President Clinton at that historic event. The joy was palpable, and the spirit of hope evident. We congratulate both President Aristide and President Préval on this remarkable occasion.

Today, in response to the request of Haiti's new President, René Préval, we have approved an extension of the United Nations Mission. By this decision, the international community renews its support to Haitian security and stability and continues its much-needed assistance to the newly trained, newly deployed Haitian National Police. This will allow the Haitian Government

to consolidate and expand further its recent political, social, and economic advances.

The resolution builds on the progress that has already occurred in Haiti. The United Nations Mission will be reduced by more than two thirds, in both its military and in its civilian police components. The Secretary-General is instructed to begin planning, no later than June, for the mission's withdrawal. The Security Council's role and the need for military peace-keepers in Haiti is coming to an end, but it has not ended yet. The resolution approved today is designed to help finish the job, and during the next four months the United States will welcome recommendations from the Secretary-General on further ways that the international community can contribute to Haiti's development, democracy and security.

We should not forget that, through much of Haitian history, the official outposts of authority — the military headquarters and police — have been used not to enhance the security of Haitian citizens, but to deprive them of it. A new era has now dawned: Haiti's Government is committed to providing justice to all its citizens, and we welcome that commitment.

But an effective and professional national police cannot be invented overnight. Today, the most experienced of the National Police trainees has only eight months on the job: the police need more time. The continued presence of a modest number of United Nations peace-keepers will help provide that time and thus reduce the likelihood of violence and disruption.

My Government is heartened by the decision of Canada to offer itself as a candidate for a leadership role in the next phase of the United Nations Mission. We also welcome the call in operative paragraph 11 of the resolution for voluntary contributions for the Mission to fulfil its mandate. We urge every Member to assist in appropriate ways.

We also urge nations and the relevant international institutions to continue efforts on behalf of the emergency economic recovery programme. The door to private investment must be open: the future of democratic Haiti depends on an economic programme that recognizes and rewards the initiative of Haiti's people. In advance, we express our appreciation to all those who will rise to the occasion and give the Haitians a continuing helping hand. We are especially grateful to the Canadians for their generous and instant comprehension of what was needed to assure success.

The value of the resolution we have approved today is also reflected in the unanimous support for it demonstrated by all western hemisphere States. This demonstration of regional support for a democratic transition is in the best tradition of inter-American cooperation, and it reflects the fact that events in Haiti have had and continue to have consequences beyond the borders of that country.

The Security Council may be proud of its role in helping Haiti help itself. With the assistance of the dedicated personnel of UNMIH, and especially with the outstanding job done by Mr. Brahimi, the Haitian people have fashioned an astonishing triumph of hope.

We must remember, though, that this victory is not final; it is not yet complete. As the resolution we have approved today recognizes, the future of Haiti rests, as it must, in Haitian hands. Democratic institutions cannot be imposed upon a society; they must be nourished from within. The road ahead remains uphill, but the international community can be satisfied that those with the commitment to build a free Haiti now have that opportunity. By allowing that chance, the Council has kept faith with the people of Haiti and with the Charter's pledge

> "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

I resume my function as President of the Council.

The representative of Canada has asked to speak. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): As this is my first opportunity to address the Security Council during February, allow me to congratulate you, Madam President, on the way your presidency has unfolded. I know that, as a result of your capable guidance, the Council has carried out its tasks in a fruitful and effective manner. Allow me also to offer my congratulations to the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Weston, on the way he guided the Council's deliberations during January.

Canada has watched the Haitian people with admiration as it passed one of the most important milestones in its progress towards democracy. On 7 February, contingent on the 17 December elections, the Haitian people made possible a transfer of power from

one democratically elected President to another. This is a success of which all Haitians can be proud.

Canada has sought to take advantage of all possible opportunities for it to show proof of its commitment to helping the Haitians along their road to peace, prosperity and stability. We have provided technical, material and financial assistance, and have taken an enthusiastic part in all United Nations efforts aimed at bringing peace and stability into the daily lives of the Haitian people. Our commitment will be maintained as Haiti continues with its development.

(*spoke in English*)

While marking the achievements to date, we must also measure the steps still to be taken. We welcome the two letters from President Préval to the Secretary-General requesting the continuation of a United Nations and an international presence through the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and the International Civilian Mission to Haiti (MICIVIH). Canada is committed to ensuring that democracy in Haiti is deeply rooted.

In this regard, I am pleased to join many others in offering praise and appreciation to Special Representative Brahimi, whose outstanding diplomatic skills and quiet competence have contributed so much to the success of the United Nations engagement in Haiti.

We do believe that there is a continuing role for the international community which will extend far beyond the length of UNMIH's or MICIVIH's specific mandates: Haiti is engaged in a long-term process of institution-building, economic reconstruction and the rehabilitation of its justice system. We all, as members of the international community, continue to play an important role in assisting the Haitian Government in this process. While our commitment may take many forms, these are not undertakings which can be arbitrarily or summarily concluded. It is therefore incumbent upon us to ensure that the focus of the international community remains clearly fixed on Haiti so that Haiti may overcome its legacy of violence and injustice.

We consider it important that the negotiation of this resolution has once again drawn our attention to the importance of our continuing to learn the lessons of previous peace-keeping missions. Canada has consistently insisted that mandates, and the resources deployed in support of those mandates, cannot be considered separate and unrelated issues. The resource requirements detailed in the relevant reports of the Secretary-General are not arbitrary figures. Rather, they reflect the best military advice available to the Secretary-General and must be given due consideration by the Council in adopting enabling resolutions. When the Council fails to heed such advice, significant risk is necessarily incurred, sometimes with disastrous consequences.

Specifically, the issue of force size and troop levels seemed to be the determining issue in the negotiation of this resolution. As a significant troop contributor to peace-keeping operations over nearly five decades, Canada has often stressed how essential it is that the United Nations learn from its past peace-keeping record and accept that peace-keeping missions must be adequately resourced. The very legitimacy of the United Nations's peace-keeping vocation will be put at risk if sufficient resources are not made available to accomplish the mandates which the Security Council sets for those missions.

The Secretary-General's military advisers and potential troop contributors to a renewed but significantly reduced UNMIH assessed that a contingent of 1,900 would be the minimum viable force required to accomplish UNMIH's mandate with an acceptable degree of risk to the United Nations personnel involved.

This force, at 9 per cent of the size of the multinational force which intervened in September 1994 to establish a stable and secure environment, and one third the size of the currently mandated UNMIH, was designed to be of sufficient strength to be capable of executing the military mission it was being assigned, and no more. The mission included both maintaining a visible United Nations presence throughout the country and providing for the security of United Nations personnel and other designated persons, including, of course, the crucially important Civilian Police.

UNMIH, with its Civilian Police component, is an example of a small, tightly organized, broad-based Mission focused specifically on the problems of instability and the need to buttress the fledgling judicial apparatus in Haiti. UNMIH has been engaged in assisting Haitians with the peaceful reconstruction of their society. This, in our view, is an entirely appropriate role for the United Nations to play.

Canadians have steadfastly stood by the Haitian people in their struggle to build a democratic society; to

this end, Canada is committed to a significant contribution to a reduced and extended UNMIH.

Given the strength of our determination not to abandon Haiti at this critical stage, the Canadian Government has decided, pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 1048 (1996), to make available, entirely at our own expense, additional military personnel that we consider necessary to enable to enable UNMIH to fulfil its mandate with an acceptable degree of risk to the personnel involved.

We would very much have preferred the Secretary-General's recommendations for the extended force to have been accepted by the Council in their entirety. This is a collective United Nations responsibility, and it should be organized and resourced accordingly. However, given the alternative of no force at all and the prospect of leaving Haiti without any United Nations support at a critical juncture in Haiti's political development, the Canadian Government decided to bridge the gap between what the Council could agree and the Secretary-General's requirements.

We must stress however, that from our perspective — and we have every reason to believe that the Government of Haiti is entirely comfortable with this position — the Canadian troops which will complete the force envisaged in the Secretary-General's report will work closely with United Nations forces in the context of a unified force. We intend to enter into an agreement with the United Nations that will place our additional troops under the command and control of the commander of UNMIH, and we anticipate that our additional troops will follow the same rules of engagement and be afforded the same protection as that part of the force which will be funded by United Nations general assessment.

Canada has taken the step of offering additional troops because of our commitment to Haiti and our concern that United Nations credibility not be jeopardized once again. It is clearly not an ideal arrangement and not one that we see as providing a model for future United Nations peace-keeping. We continue to believe firmly that all Member States should, through assessed contributions, help shoulder the burden of maintaining international peace and security. That said, the interests of the people of Haiti have caused us to set aside those important considerations in an effort to ensure an effective United Nations Mission in Haiti.

In closing, I would like to register my appreciation for the kind words which you, Madam President, and many members of the Council have addressed to the Canadian Government in response to its undertaking to send additional troops to Haiti to assist with the maintenance of a secure and stable environment.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on the list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3639

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3639th Meeting

Tuesday, 5 March 1996, 11 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Legwaila	(Botswana)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Burundi (S/1996/116)

96-85256 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of March, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Her Excellency Mrs. Madeleine Korbel Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, for her service as President of the Security Council for the month of February 1996. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Albright for the great diplomatic skill with which she conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Burundi (S/1996/116)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Burundi, the Congo, Norway, Rwanda and Tunisia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terence (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Abibi (Congo), Mr. Aass (Norway), Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) and Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Burundi, document S/1996/116.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/162, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1996/110 and S/1996/121, letters dated 14 and 19 February 1996 respectively from the Permanent Representative of Burundi to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1996/146, letter dated 23 February 1996 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Burundi, on whom I now call.

Mr. Terence (Burundi): I am deeply thankful and pleased, Sir, to be addressing the Security Council on behalf of my Government under your presidency of the Council. Your previous involvement in the peace negotiations and your familiarity with African problems and issues will certainly have a positive impact on the Council's debate and its outcome.

Your predecessor, Mrs. Albright, offered me several opportunities to deal with her, even at the climax of an issue in which she was personally involved. I am thankful to her for having listened to me several times in relation to the Burundi crisis.

(spoke in Spanish)

I cannot fail to thank His Excellency Ambassador Juan Somavía, last month's coordinator of the non-aligned caucus, for his effectiveness, skilful coordination and attentiveness, which I personally experienced and which formed the basis of the draft resolution before the Security Council today.

(spoke in English)

I am also thankful to the representative of Egypt and his delegation, who have succeeded the delegation of Chile in coordinating the activities of the non-aligned caucus relating to Burundi.

(spoke in French)

A questioning of intentions, offensive to the Government and the people of Burundi, has been the basis for a series of negotiations in which you, Sir, have been involved. In the wake of a flood of highly pessimistic reports, in recent weeks a political and media hurricane has been unleashed upon Burundi from the four corners of the Earth.

In his report (S/1996/116) of 15 February 1996, the Secretary-General strongly advocates a multinational military force designed to descend upon Burundi on the smallest pretext, like a vulture upon its prey. This extreme proposal was dictated by a wish to protect Burundi from Rwandan-style genocide. Those who prophesy such an event would have it that its recurrence in Burundi is a near certainty in the light of the geographic environment Burundi shares with Rwanda and because of the ethnic, cultural and social similarities between the two countries, and that it is inevitable that the tragedy that took place in Rwanda in 1994 should be exported to its neighbour. For the people of Burundi, this mechanical fusion of the two countries calls its intentions into question and is offensive in many respects. A number of clear facts illustrate how forced this generalization is.

In fact, the genocide in Rwanda was spread over three decades. It ebbed and flowed with an intensity that depended on the times and on the country's leadership. The first detonator was discharged in 1959 and the explosion reached full intensity in 1994. Following the initial blast, in 1961, the people of Burundi by no means yielded to the Rwandese trigger, but rather rose up in unity and set an example to the world by unanimously rallying around a single ideal — national unity — and around a single leader, Prince Rwagasore.

Throughout the existence of the two previous Rwandese Republics, persistent efforts to turn Burundi into a *sui generis* apartheid State resulted in failure; however, the opposition of the coalition of the people always ensured the failure of periodic attempts by Burundi groups seeking that goal.

In 1993, all the political entities of Rwanda — some institutional, such as the Government, its army and its party, and others circumstantial, such as the enraged militia — held back nothing.

The media in Rwanda, both in print and on the air, spewed their venom in Burundi with a view to the assassination of our beloved President, in order to pit one national community against another. The demonic and excessive means used succeeded in stirring up certain infected groups against innocent people. This deadly madness caused dozens of human lives to be lost, both Hutu and Tutsi. However, the progress of such means was broken thanks to the visceral repugnance of almost the entire people of Burundi at such a Nazi doctrine and thanks to the organization, bravery and patriotism of the security forces.

Despite the failings attributable to some irresolute Burundis in their desire for political survival even on the ruins of their country, the people of Burundi and the army showed themselves to be utterly impermeable to the lessons of Rwanda. Already hardened to and inoculated against the incitements to genocide of the earlier Rwandese regimes, the people of Burundi, its Government and its army were aware down to their very marrow of the supreme need to reject and repel even more strongly that ignominious model. It is therefore shocking to impute to them any intention or inclination whatsoever to model the nation's future on the past of Rwanda. Burundi, by its very character, identity and sense of honour, is not able to duplicate that scourge.

In predicting disaster of genocidal dimensions, many forget that the Government and the national army formed a coalition to restore peace and security. There are three new phenomena that give us hope that the dynamic of peace will be irreversible, even if there should be new developments.

The first of these phenomena is the strengthening of governmental solidarity. At the very beginning of this year, overcoming certain obstacles that in the past had jeopardized the common good, the members of the Government that emerged from the 12 political parties that signed the Convention on Governance agreed on strategies to be followed in order to restore peace. Combining action and will, under the leadership of the Head of State and the Prime Minister, the Ministers, political leaders, members of the National Assembly and State officials and functionaries have tried to outdo each other in zeal throughout the Republic. In this full-bore crusade, a standard message has been disseminated in public meetings in order to rally the three main actors — the population, the national army and the public administration to a sacred, tripartite union. This triad is allied unshakeably against the real enemy of the homeland: any armed terrorist or violent fanatic. In just a few weeks the campaign to mobilize for peace has already produced very encouraging results, as was attested to by the Government following its special

meeting on 7 February last, which was devoted to an evaluation of overall security and as was confirmed in a message from the Head of Government to the Security Council on 18 February.

The second of these phenomena is the new and very healthy rallying of the population to work towards peace. After having been the first victim terrorizing, plundering armed bands, the population shook off its torpor and rose up massively in support of peace. Having identified the true enemy and valiantly resisting any incitement to self-destruction, peasants from all national groups have taken charge of their own defence in the various parts of the country where terrorists still dare to act.

Acting in good faith — out of ignorance or out of complicity with rebel groups that have poisoned public opinion — various diplomatic and media circles have legitimized the demonization of the Burundi army. Our military corps deserves treatment quite different from the litany of defamation against it, which is promoted by armed bands that are terrified of it. The President of the Republic, a direct and privileged witness of the army's code of conduct, as its supreme commander, wishing to pay it a well-deserved tribute during a press conference on 16 February 1996, described the army of Burundi as "the most positive institution of all society during this crisis". This praise for the security forces by the President of the Republic is shared by the population itself. Regardless of what its unrepentant detractors may say, the fact is that the army of Burundi is now the most powerful catalyst for democratic institutions.

The third phenomenon is the burgeoning alliance between the population and the army. Jealously attached to its security, the population has unhesitatingly stood up to the trouble-makers, tracking them down and beating them up. As beneficiaries and privileged witnesses of the patriotic dedication of the army, citizens have joined it in the combat against terrorists by confronting them and confiscating their weapons. Thanks to their confidence in the army and to the shining fact that it is their sure and mighty shield, the peasants who have felt threatened are mobilizing against their assailants, in the expectation that security forces will arrive, or they hasten to where the forces are. There is thus a sacred alliance developing between the population and the national army.

In the letter which I sent on behalf of my Government to the President of the Security Council on 18 January 1996, I highlighted the war of nerves being waged in Burundi by the chronic mention of the spectre of military intervention. The Burundi Government's opposition to this option is in no way a result of its army's powerlessness to confront it. The army of Burundi is completely prepared to confront any expeditionary corps, regardless of its humanitarian or military label. It is also able to increase its defence and counter-attack capacity with both human and material resources. However, there are countervailing reasons impelling the Government to militate against not only foreign troops but also against any reference to such a possibility.

The main countervailing reason is that, at a moment when the campaign of mobilization for peace is in full swing under the direction of our Government and all the political bodies in the country, nothing could be more harmful than a polarization over military options. Although there can be no excuse for such solutions, even at the high point of a crisis, they would be even more damaging right now, when all the signs are that the forced march towards peace is actually happening. Given this extremely positive development, anyone would say that it would be to the honour of the Security Council and the Secretary-General not only to stay with this process but to use diplomatic, political and financial means to ensure that it succeeds overwhelmingly.

The Security Council as a whole supports the Convention on Governance and the Government which resulted from it. The various earlier pronouncements by the Security Council and its recent resolution 1040 (1996) of 29 January 1996 strikingly illustrate the Council's constant concern to support the institutions of Burundi which are based on the Convention on Governance. On many occasions, the Secretary-General has emphasized the obvious need to give the coalition Government all the support it requires and to safeguard the Convention on Governance at all costs. The positions of the Security Council and the Secretary-General are in perfect harmony with the socio-political imperatives now obtaining in Burundi. The odds are that military solutions would expose the Government to very great risk and that the Convention on Governance would be seriously jeopardized if not fatally undermined.

Amongst the damaging consequences that any military option might have, we have to say that the Government and the country would be put up for grabs by it. Firstly, the armed bands — which have been put to rout and are facing extinction — would do their damnedest to raise the stakes, under the delusion that the deteriorating situation would force the stand-by military contingents to come in. Secondly, some pretenders to

power — who are to be found both within the presidential majority and in the opposition — would leap at this godsend and use it as a stick with which to beat a Government standing accused of being in cahoots with the pro-military-intervention lobby.

Having been constantly traumatized by chronic threats of military adventures for nearly two and a half years, the population and politicians would find even more difficult the establishment of a foreign stand-by army designed to intervene in Burundi.

The Charter would be flagrantly violated, as paragraph 7 of Article 2 prohibits the United Nations from interfering with the national sovereignty of its Member States. In the case in point, this much lauded multinational military force, which has been given a humanitarian cloak to wear, would be tantamount to an affront to the State of Burundi. In the event that the so highly dramatized catastrophe occurs, it would be up to the Government of Burundi and its army to decide when and if to ask for humanitarian assistance.

Some of the main actors in the United Nations are trying to justify their stated choice of an expeditionary corps in Burundi by adducing their need to look like Caesar's wife in front of the international community. Using the same handy logic ourselves, I hardly need to prove that our Government and our army too would be absolutely bound to batten down the hatches against the fury and the wrath they would call down on themselves from people and politicians alike in the event of a military adventure, even a far-off or hypothetical one. And for all that, if we do commit national suicide, it would be the people of Burundi themselves who would be blamed for it, because it is in the first place and in the last resort up to them to take responsibility for their fate.

Any military option would lead to the mediation missions — those of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the OAU, the European Union and the prestigious Nyerere-Carter group — being blocked or even blamed. The very special importance that my Government attaches to the roles of those former Heads of State has been publicly highlighted by my ardent plea for an explicit mention of the Carter Center in the draft resolution. I am much obliged to the Security Council for heeding my repeated appeals on this subject.

If we turn to the matter of the bipolar antagonism between a United Nations contingent and the army of Burundi, we must all be aware that any political decision of historic scope and international dimensions demands that we examine the most serious possible consequences beforehand. In touting the idea of a multinational military force, we are losing sight of the fact that it would give rise to a state of constant alert between the force and Burundi. A miniature cold war would result, like the one between the former ideological blocs. Feeding on the psychosis of fear they induced in each other, East and West were constantly suspicious of and spied on each other and constantly getting themselves ready to wipe each other out. Given that forewarned is forearmed, any open or covert machinations on the official level or concocted in United Nations offices or hatched in foreign capitals would force Burundi and its army to develop parallel plans to review and even bolster its own arsenal and troop numbers and, naturally, to conclude useful alliances in order to deal with any eventuality. Under such conditions, bipolar antagonism would become a permanent feature and would sometimes flare in time to the revelations of the two-way traffic in spying between the United Nations contingent based abroad and the army of Burundi operating on its own national territory.

Turning now to the national coalition against military boosterism: the Secretary-General's report suggests that the army of Burundi is split into two camps: one, under the influence of Tutsi extremists, which is sworn to total hostility against United Nations troops; and another made up of moderates who are getting ready to welcome them in. In fact, to attribute to any part of the army the intention not only of consenting to but even tolerating a foreign military presence on Burundi's soil would be like saying the ground is up and the sky is down. From the Minister of Defence to the Chiefs of Staff of the army and gendarmerie and right on down to the rawest recruits, the thought of an expeditionary force outside Burundi quite literally makes the hackles of the entire military rise.

The military response is almost unanimously echoed by civil society. The massive demonstrations organized last week in Bujumbura to pay a resounding tribute and express immeasurable gratitude to all the honourable members of the Security Council for their realism, which dictated the measures contained in this draft resolution are in accordance with national realities, the solemn declarations of vigorous protest against the Secretary-General's proposal by various political groups and civil-society organizations — notably the League of Human Rights and the Economic League — and the stream of messages from many Burundian citizens within the country and abroad constitutes resounding proof that

nearly all Burundian people reject in no uncertain terms any military solution to the national problem.

In conclusion, the report (S/1996/116) of the Secretary-General of 15 February last focuses almost exclusively on the military option and repeats — I emphasize, repeats — other alternatives already contained in presidential statements or earlier resolutions adopted by the Security Council. At a time when mankind is moving inexorably towards the end of this century, towards the threshold of the next millennium, is it not imperative that the international community's proclivity and ability to resolve all conflicts by peaceful means prevail over the tendency to resolve conflicts with weapons? Would it not be better to envisage the creation of a new world for our future generations, of a better human race, given to bringing peace through peace rather than achieving peace by the sword?

The President: I thank the representative of Burundi for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Nigeria in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Egunsola took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union, and the following countries also associate themselves with this statement: Poland, Cyprus, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia.

Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Your skill, experience, foresight and wit are our best guarantees of a very profitable month. At the same time, I wish to thank the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Albright, for her eminently professional, dedicated and incisive leadership in the month of February.

At a formal meeting of the Security Council on 29 January 1996, the European Union made clear its views on the situation in Burundi and on how the tension could be defused and the stalemate in the political dialogue ended. The formal statement made on that occasion expressed full support for the efforts of the United Nations and the regional organizations concerned, particularly the Organization of African Unity. The European Union also pointed out that the only way to permanently end the crisis was through a political solution. The statement underlined the hope for a renewal of the spirit of reconciliation in Burundi. Another potential humanitarian catastrophe in the region can be averted only if all the interested parties realize that there is no viable solution outside of dialogue. War and violence must be discarded as an option, and we all must strive in this direction.

During the last month, a number of developments have taken place that, in our view, can greatly contribute to the search for renewed peace and stability. The situation in the country seems to have improved somewhat, due to stronger cohesion within the Government. The strong willingness of the international community to address the situation and keep it under constant review has also had an influence on the political situation in Burundi.

The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the European Union have mobilized their efforts and are working in close coordination. This is a critical factor. Once again we wish to express our confidence in the capacity of the Secretary-General and of the eminent personalities, especially former Tanzanian President Nyerere, to promote a climate of trust, of confidence between the parties. The Special Envoy of the European Union for the Great Lakes region, Mr. Aldo Ajello, will give them his full support. Mr. Ajello will stay in close contact with the Government of the countries of the region in order to avoid duplication of initiatives.

For the reasons I have mentioned, we believe that the draft resolution that the Security Council will vote on today contains all the elements that are needed, at this stage, to support the progress we have been witnessing along the path of dialogue, which should be strengthened and broadened. The draft resolution is also very clear when it warns the parties that the international community may be forced to change its attitude if there are acts of violence and attempts at destabilization.

We believe it is right to encourage the Secretary-General to continue consultations for further steps toward supporting a comprehensive dialogue and for a possible response, in the unfortunate event of widespread violence and a serious deterioration in the situation.

Political support is important, as is the willingness of the international community to concretely assist the Government of Burundi in development programmes for rehabilitating the country. The European Union is the largest donor in Burundi. The Union and its member States are already contributing in the critical fields of humanitarian and human rights assistance, as well as assistance to the judiciary and to the police. The European Union's willingness to provide this much-needed assistance will nevertheless depend to a great extent on the Government's continuation of its efforts at dialogue and reconciliation.

I shall conclude by expressing our great satisfaction over the inclusion in the draft resolution of a strong reference to the need to intensify the preparations for convening a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the area. We understand that the Conference needs careful preparation, and that a number of uncertainties have yet to be overcome. Still, it is our strong belief that such a Conference can provide a significant opportunity to address, within a broader perspective, issues of political and economic stability; humanitarian questions; and issues of peace and security in the area.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, Mr. President, to begin by expressing our warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for March. I should also like to express our confidence that your wide diplomatic experience and renowned wisdom will enable you to discharge fully the responsibilities of the presidency. It gives me pleasure also to give your our assurance that the Egyptian delegation will cooperate with you fully this month.

I should like also to express our deepest appreciation to Ambassador Madeleine Albright and to the United States delegation for the excellence that characterized the American presidency of the Council during February.

The Council's consideration today of the situation in Burundi, for the second time in five weeks, bears witness to the international community's determination to follow developments in that fraternal African country closely. We share with it a common link, that great artery, the Nile.

The draft resolution before the Council is a true reflection of the efforts made since the Council adopted its resolution 1040 (1996) of 29 January, firstly to achieve national reconciliation and stability in Burundi by putting the presidency in the hands of the forces of moderation and tolerance rather than of the advocates of extremism, fanaticism and hatred and then to begin a national debate that would include all parties and would complement the Agreement embodying a Convention on Governance, signed on 10 September 1994, that covered power-sharing.

Here we emphasize once more the responsibility the people of Burundi themselves bear for normalizing the situation in their country; I would refer in this context to the statement by the Permanent Representative of Burundi just now in which he stressed his Government's commitment to normalization.

The Secretary-General's report gives a comprehensive and objective review and an accurate analysis of the causes and scale of the political tension in Burundi over the past two months as a result of the attempts by certain extremist forces to put pressure on the Head of State and depose him. These attempts were on the point of blowing away what stability there was in the country.

On the humanitarian level, there has certainly been no improvement, especially since the International Committee of the Red Cross and some other international relief agencies have halted their activities as a result of attacks on their personnel and local headquarters. This prompted the Secretary-General to send the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, to Burundi and to dispatch a technical team to Bujumbura to consult with the Government on means of protecting expatriate personnel and guaranteeing their security.

The first visit by President Nyerere earlier this year did not yield a positive outcome in terms of dialogue, and no substantive progress has been made in implementing the recommendations of the Cairo Conference of Heads of States of the Great Lakes Region organized by the Carter Center on 29 November 1995. The situation in Burundi, in a nutshell, was as summed up by the

President of Burundi himself on 2 January this year: the country was on the point of collapse.

To avoid an explosion and contain the crisis, so averting a humanitarian tragedy similar to the one in Rwanda, the Secretary-General has given us a number of preventive options in his report. These options were certainly not ruled out by the Council in its resolution 1040 (1996), in which the Council emphasized the need to begin a serious national debate that would include all political forces, including extremist ones, as the only way to solve the present crisis. Indeed, Egypt supports the new approach proposed by the Secretary-General, combining preventive diplomacy with pre-emptive measures and bringing all possible pressure to bear on all parties concerned so that they take more positive positions.

In this context, Egypt expresses its support for any humanitarian effort to assist the people of Burundi in the event that the humanitarian situation there deteriorates further.

The delegation of Egypt has followed with keen interest recent international and regional efforts to monitor the situation in Burundi in particular and in the Great Lakes region in general. The most significant of these efforts have been the sixty-third session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and the Addis Ababa meeting on 29 February to follow up the results of the meeting in Bujumbura, which was attended not only by former President Nyerere but also by many international and regional organizations, and at which 20 or so African countries were also represented.

We are most gratified to note that former President Nyerere, with international support, intends to play a greater role as a coordinator and focus for the efforts of all these organizations. We hope that the political forces in Burundi will respond positively to former President Nyerere's proposals to defuse the crisis and to prepare for the convening of a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region. We also hope that the meeting scheduled to be held in Tunisia late this month under the auspices of the Carter Center will be a preparatory meeting for that Regional Conference.

The Organization of African Unity has played an important role in Burundi since 1993 in support of moderation, tolerance, peaceful coexistence and confidence-building. It has played a pioneering role, despite the scarcity of its resources, in promptly stepping in to try to halt the deterioration of the situation in Burundi. It has sent an observer mission for dual political and military purposes. Its military observers are currently providing protection to the officials of the international Commission of Inquiry. Even though this role was not initially welcomed by certain parties in Burundi, and even though it received no political or material support from other international organizations, it has today become one of the major axes of development, reaffirming the importance of the regional organizations' support for containing crises and conflicts under Chapter VIII of the Charter.

The draft resolution before the Council reflects the required balance needed to address the present situation in Burundi. It focuses on the need to support national dialogue and the importance of that dialogue's succeeding. At the same time, it calls upon the international community to continue its preparations aimed at addressing any adverse developments that could lead to a deterioration in the situation and an increase in violence.

The delegation of Egypt will vote for the draft resolution because it is convinced that there is an undeniable need to ensure success for the efforts being made to restore stability and security in Burundi in particular and the Great Lakes region in general, and to put an end to the current crisis, which is hindering the economic and political development to which the peoples of the region aspire.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): Allow me very briefly to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation for your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month and to say what a pleasure it always is to work under your guidance.

We also thank Ambassador Albright and the United States delegation for the very clear and firm leadership which they gave to the Council in the month of February.

The British Government continues to follow the situation in Burundi with concern, and we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council today. I should like to pay a tribute to the Caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement for its work in bringing this draft resolution to the consideration of the Council.

The draft resolution focuses — rightly, in our view — on preventive diplomacy to assist efforts at finding a lasting political solution and it encourages the international community to help underpin those efforts in support of continuing political progress.

The message which this draft resolution sends to the leaders of Burundi, both within and outside the Government, is crystal clear. We call upon all parties to refrain from violence and to engage seriously in political dialogue. We are prepared to support a dialogue from outside and to provide international assistance of a political, preventive and material kind in support of the progress which they achieve. The initiative and the responsibility lie with the Government of Burundi itself.

There have been some encouraging signs since January this year, when the Council adopted resolution 1040 (1996). These positive developments deserve to be acknowledged, providing as they do the basic elements for political progress. It is clear, for instance, that there has been a reduction in tension, attributable largely to the Government's recent pacification campaign. We are also glad that a date has now been set for the National Debate. The parties in Burundi must now build on these relatively positive developments and start the process of a genuine political dialogue in support of the principles of the Convention on Governance.

While Burundi's leaders are ultimately responsible for restoring hope and stability to their country, the draft resolution addresses many ways in which the international community can help. It encourages international assistance and expertise in support of a continuing political dialogue. In this context, we strongly support the collective efforts of former President Nyerere, former President Touré, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Burundi, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union and eminent regional leaders appointed by the Cairo Conference of Heads of States of the Great Lakes Region. All the actors have their roles to play, and it will be important as they go about their work that their efforts are properly coordinated, a process which, we are glad to see, has already begun with their meeting in Addis Ababa on 29 February.

The draft resolution also envisages more concrete forms of assistance. It looks to the possibility of a United Nations radio station to promote reconciliation and dialogue. More generally, it requests further contingency planning on other steps to support a comprehensive dialogue. In our view, that might include the possibility of an international presence to underpin the political process.

The situation in Burundi remains volatile. The Secretary-General's report depicts a sobering picture of the suffering that might result if the parties in Burundi do not build on the fragile gains which have been achieved. We know that Burundi will not rid itself easily or quickly of political violence and extremism. We and the Council therefore remain prepared to consider further measures against those who reject this approach and choose to pursue violent means to achieve their aims. We fully support the call in the draft resolution for continued contingency planning for a humanitarian response against the possibility of widespread violence and a worsening of the humanitarian situation.

We believe that international attention should continue to be focused on Burundi and that this Council should remain closely seized of developments. There is a lot to be gained for the people of Burundi and of the region as a whole by a concerted, major push to advance the political dialogue. The means are there if the will is there. We hope that the voice of the Council and of the international community expressed in this meeting today will be clearly heeded by those who hold Burundi's future in their hands.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): At the outset, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March, and to assure you of my delegation's full cooperation. My delegation is confident that your demonstrated diplomatic and leadership qualities will enable the Council to carry out the tasks before it expeditiously and efficiently.

I should like also to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Albright, the Permanent Representative of the United States, for the excellent manner in which she presided over the work of the Council for the month of February.

The Indonesian delegation would like also to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to keep the Council informed on the volatile and fragile situation in Burundi. His letter to the Council of 3 January 1996 (S/1996/8) and his most recent report, of 15 February 1996 (S/1996/116), provide ample evidence

that swift action must be taken to avert a worsening of the situation in that devastated country.

The Indonesian delegation is pleased to note that the situation in Burundi has recently demonstrated some signs of stabilizing. In particular, we welcome the improved coordination between the President and the Prime Minister in promoting peace, as reflected in the Government's third campaign for the return of peace. Moreover, my delegation was encouraged by the fact that the extremists' call for a "dead city" operation met with resistance from the general population.

There still exists, however, the potential for escalating tragedy and unrelenting human suffering in light of the fact that little progress has been achieved towards the establishment of a broad-based political dialogue between the parties to this conflict. The situation therefore requires urgent action if Burundi is to move further away from the brink of disaster, which may indeed include rampant ethnic, even genocidal violence. My delegation believes that further procrastination and ambivalence will not only have severe consequences for Burundi, but will also encourage the spread of instability throughout the Great Lakes region. In this context, my delegation welcomes the recent proliferation of regional and international peace initiatives, particularly the efforts of former Presidents Nyerere and Carter.

The Indonesian delegation recognizes the enormous task and the challenges facing the Government of Burundi in implementing measures, with the assistance of the international community, to promote a climate of stability and trust. Such a climate would give impetus for dialogue, accompanied by mutual accommodation, to occur in Burundi.

My delegation observes that the Secretary-General's report presents a sombre picture of internal conditions in Burundi. Ideological differences, extremist positions, the uprooting of people and crumbling humanitarian conditions make for an explosive situation. Nevertheless, we believe that the draft resolution under consideration contains an array of important measures to promote national reconciliation and dialogue. Moreover, we believe that the combination of these measures can encourage an atmosphere that will temper the vast differences separating the parties and allow to be heard the voice of moderation and reason that this crisis so desperately needs.

It is my delegation's view that the crisis in Burundi needs to be addressed in a comprehensive manner, specifically at the regional and international levels. The inherent complexities of the situation require such an approach, bearing in mind that developments in Burundi and the solutions offered do not occur in a vacuum. We believe, therefore, that an approach that recognizes the mutually inclusive nature of the underlying problems in Burundi and the broader Great Lakes region — such as refugees, economic dislocation and ethnic struggles — will prove more beneficial.

In this connection, my delegation cannot foresee a lasting peace taking hold in Burundi in the absence of an open dialogue between the parties that addresses the underlying issues concerning the establishment of a permanent political settlement and the creation of conditions conducive to national reconciliation. We therefore urge all concerned parties to renew their commitment to the national debate and to increase their efforts towards achieving national reconciliation. Additionally, since the nature of the problems found in Burundi is such that they have regional ramifications, my delegation supports the idea of convening a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region focusing on issues of political and economic stability as well as on peace and security concerns.

While my delegation fully supports all the efforts aimed at promoting a broad-based dialogue, we nevertheless believe that this objective could be further advanced through the consideration of a contingency plan for a rapid humanitarian response in the event that the situation deteriorates rapidly. Such a step would, in our view, allow the international community to be more prepared to respond effectively should this actually arise. Moreover, my delegation believes that in an environment of impunity and economic uncertainty, lasting peace will prove elusive and the pattern of violence will continue. We therefore attach much importance to the need for the international community to lend assistance to reform Burundi's military, its police and its judicial system, as well as to provide development programmes and support.

The Indonesian delegation wishes to emphasize, however, that while the international community stands ready to initiate a number of measures to bring stability to Burundi, these would be to no avail without the cooperation of the parties concerned, internally and externally. This should include the parties' extending full cooperation to the Commission of Inquiry, exercising caution and restraint and refraining from any activities

that could incite further violence or threaten international humanitarian personnel.

After careful consideration and assessment, my delegation is going to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us today. It is our belief that it offers a comprehensive and well-balanced approach that emphasizes preventive diplomacy while recognizing the need to be prepared to respond effectively, as conditions warrant. Additionally, we feel that it will send the correct signal regarding the international community's resolve and commitment in discouraging the unacceptable proliferation of human suffering, which has taken a tremendous toll of the people of Burundi.

To conclude, my delegation wishes to underline that, to avert another Rwanda, it is imperative for the United Nations to take the appropriate and necessary steps to prevent the tensions escalating into full-scale civil war and genocide, for not only the countries of Africa, but those of the world at large, are looking to the United Nations for action and leadership. An absence of specific measures would undoubtedly have grave consequences not only for the region but also for the credibility of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. Your extensive experience in the United Nations, your personal communications skills and your substantive knowledge of the issues thus all become available to the Council, for which we are most grateful to you.

I had the opportunity, at our last meeting, to comment on the outstanding presidency of Ambassador Albright. I also wish to thank the Ambassador of Burundi for his presence here, for his profound remarks and for the kind words he addressed to me.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report. The report indicates that, although the situation in Burundi has recently been somewhat calmer than it was in December and at the beginning of January, the Secretary-General continues to believe that the trend is a negative one and that the security situation in the country remains unpredictable and, in his words, "desperately serious". (*S/1996/116, para. 36*)

On the basis of the Secretary-General's report, the Security Council is today in the process of adopting a draft resolution that basically targets those aspects that the international community can foster, so that Burundi can move away from the path of violence.

The main objective is political dialogue. We have all known all along that promoting dialogue is no easy task in this situation; rather, it is much more demanding and difficult than other types of preventive action. That is why the Security Council is appealing to all the parties in Burundi to embark on serious negotiations towards that objective.

It was encouraging to hear from the Secretary-General that his Special Representative and former President Nyerere are working resolutely to promote dialogue, a fact confirmed by the most recent conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). An experienced and respected former Head of State of an African country such as Julius Nyerere can bring to bear considerable influence for dialogue between the leaders of neighbouring Burundi, as can former President Carter, with his well-known commitment to peace. The OAU is playing a regional role of fundamental importance, and the European Union is also providing significant support. In this connection, the Security Council is lending its strongest support to all those who are facilitating the internal political process in Burundi.

The draft resolution reaffirms support for the Convention on Governance and for the institutions set up under it, and states our interest in assisting the parties in their implementation of the agreements reached though political dialogue. It tells the Government of Burundi that we hope that it will take the initiative to promote dialogue and that we are prepared to support it in that endeavour. We want this challenge to be met by all the members of the Government, and by the opposition, the military forces and even the extremist factions.

Our objective is dialogue and national reconciliation in Burundi. If the humanitarian situation becomes critical, endangering the political process and the lives of the people of Burundi, other preventive measures will have to be considered, as long as they are always subordinate to the higher objective of national reconciliation. We hope that the planned Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region will be a success in this respect.

We take note also of the Secretary-General's repeated assertion as to how dangerous the situation in Burundi is. For this reason, the Security Council is asking the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the countries concerned and with the Organization of African Unity on a contingency plan — a plan that, if necessary, could serve to support the dialogue that we hope will become a reality in Burundi, or that could provide a rapid humanitarian response if the situation deteriorates — a possibility that we hope will not come to pass. This capacity for a rapid humanitarian response is essential so that in future we will not have a humanitarian crisis in Burundi to deplore.

The Council also decides to remain cognizant of such recommendations as the Secretary-General may make in light of the development of events in Burundi, and reaffirms its decision to respond to any eventuality, taking into account all possible options. In this scenario — which we hope will not come to pass — we would take care that any measure that may be considered would be selective, so as not to adversely affect the population of Burundi, which has already suffered so much.

Many representatives have already referred to the work of the Caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement. I too wish to thank the members of the Caucus and its technical team for their help in producing the draft resolution. As coordinator of the Caucus in February, my delegation worked closely with the non-aligned countries and with the other members of the Council, as well as with delegations which are not members, including the Ambassador of Burundi himself, with whom we have met, jointly and severally, on many occasions.

We can say from first-hand experience that the draft resolution which we are in the process of adopting today — and which Chile resolutely supports — was the result of a serious process of consultation in which all members of the Council and delegations outside the Council gave their all, with the sole purpose of finding a way to enable the people of Burundi to look towards a future of peace and development.

We can affirm with certainty that the Security Council will be following the situation in Burundi very closely, and will be very interested to see the report that the Secretary-General has been requested to prepare in two months' time, and also to hear any other relevant information before then, if this proves necessary.

I shall conclude by pointing out that, as the draft resolution makes clear, the destiny of Burundi is in the hands of the people of Burundi, and, above all, of its leaders, within and outside the Government. The international community is ready and willing to support political solutions, and is on the alert in case it needs to respond to any grave deterioration in the humanitarian situation.

The President: I thank the representative of Chile for his kind words addressed to me.

Mrs. Albright (United States): Mr. President, let me congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency. We are all looking forward to your leadership, which we all know is characterized by wisdom, diplomatic skill, and good humour. Finally, may I wish you productive days and free nights.

I would like to thank everyone for the extremely kind words addressed to me, and, most of all, for everybody's cooperation. Believe it or not, I enjoyed the month and hope that everyone will soon recover from my presidency, which has variously been described as "vigorous" and "firm".

Occasionally in this Chamber the members of the Security Council have the opportunity to try to prevent, rather than to respond to, a breach of international peace and security. Today is one of those occasions. The turmoil within Burundi, fuelled in part by the perpetrators of Rwanda's genocide, and even by radio stations beyond Burundi's borders, is a matter of grave concern to the United States and to others in the international community.

The draft resolution we will consider today reflects the Security Council's determination to prevent in Burundi the kind of massive violations of human rights that consumed Rwanda in 1994. My Government appreciates the work of the representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement in crafting this important and balanced text. The draft resolution calls upon the leaders of Burundi to settle their differences and resolve their fears through dialogue instead of bloodshed, and it asks the Secretary-General to plan, on a contingency basis, for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or of serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Burundi.

Although the fate of Burundi is in the hands of the people of Burundi, the Council, concerned regional

organizations, neighbouring States and others can help the moderate elements surmount the pressure for violence that comes from the extremes. We strongly support the efforts of former Tanzanian President Nyerere; the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Marc Faguy; former President Carter; the Organization of African Unity; the European Union and all who are endeavouring to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation. We can do so by keeping the spotlight of world attention focused on the decisions and actions that the leaders of Burundi take. We can recognize the efforts of the existing Government to establish calm, while rejecting those who, by word or action, advocate or perpetrate violence. We can make it clear that we will oppose strongly any effort to destabilize the Government or to seize power by force or other extra-constitutional means.

During my visit in January to Burundi, I told the leaders of the country that the United States will not support or assist any government that comes to power by force in Burundi, and, indeed, would make every effort to isolate any government that comes to power by force from the international community. Also, we can stress the importance of serious negotiations conducted within the framework of the National Debate, agreed upon by the signatories to the 10 September 1995 Convention on Governance. The United Nations considers that Convention to provide the legitimate basis for government in Burundi.

I think it is critical that the leaders of the various factions in Burundi not misunderstand the intentions and motives of the international community. We are not interested in any action that would undermine Burundi's sovereignty; we are not attempting to promote the interests of one faction or group at the expense of another. Our goal is simply to encourage outcomes within Burundi that are consistent with internationally recognized principles of human rights, and with Burundi's own legal and constitutional processes.

The international community can provide resources that may help overcome obstacles to reconciliation. These resources may be in the form of a neutral place for dialogue; human rights monitors; economic aid or assistance in building effective political and judicial institutions. My Government urges the Government and people of Burundi to take advantage of these resources.

There has been some debate in recent weeks about the wisdom of even planning for the contingency that, despite our efforts and those of moderates in Burundi, widespread violence might resume. However, my Government believes this step is essential. Given the horrors of what happened in Rwanda, and the persistence of outrages in Burundi, we would fail in our responsibilities if we did not take this step.

The contingency planning called for in the draft resolution is precisely the type of exercise envisioned when the United Nations established its stand-by arrangement system over the last two years. It is designed to identify in advance the resources that Member States might be willing to make available on short notice, to carry out an emergency humanitarian mission in Burundi. My Government urges other Governments to cooperate with the United Nations and with the United States in this effort. It is an initiative designed to bolster the confidence of moderates in the Government of Burundi and elsewhere within that society, and could save thousands of lives.

My Government also urges the Secretary-General to provide additional security and investigatory personnel to the Commission of Inquiry. I learned of this need first-hand during my visit to Bujumbura in January. The Commission must complete its investigation into the events of the attempted *coup d'état* of 1993, and the subsequent ethnic violence.

Finally, my Government stresses the importance of the Council's commitment in resolution 1040 (1996), and in the draft resolution, to consider further measures, under the Charter, if progress towards a comprehensive political dialogue is not achieved.

The recent report of the United Nations special rapporteur for human rights cited

> "an increasingly marked genocidal trend" *(E/CN.4/1996/16, para. 118)*

in Burundi. Although the courageous efforts of moderates in Burundi to prevent violence provide grounds for hope, we must take very seriously indeed the potential for an upsurge in killing.

The draft resolution is no panacea: it provides no guarantees, but it demonstrates that the world is monitoring events in Burundi closely, and that we are prepared to assist in efforts to promote dialogue and lay the groundwork for social progress. The history of this region tells us that those who commit genocide also commit suicide. Burundi does not deserve that fate; no nation does. Let us do all we can to help the people of

that land avoid that fate, and to build a future based on law and tolerance.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that, given your experience and enormous professional skills, the work of the Council will, under your leadership, be a complete success. You may rest assured of the complete support and cooperation of our delegation. I also congratulate Ambassador Albright for so successfully discharging her responsibilities as President of the Council in February.

Since the Security Council's adoption of resolution 1040 (1996) on 29 January, no significant progress has been made in establishing a dialogue between all the political elements of Burundi as a means of finding a permanent solution or as a way of creating conditions to promote national reconciliation in that country, thereby avoiding a recurrence of the humanitarian tragedy that recently struck the subregion of the Great Lakes.

My delegation believes that the promotion of dialogue among the parties in Burundi remains one of the most realistic means of finding a solution to the crisis there. That is why we believe the international community must make every necessary effort to facilitate that politial dialogue. In this context, we wish to applaud the steps being taken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, along with the leaders of Burundi, to begin a dialogue as soon as possible under the auspices of the United Nations.

We attach equal importance to the talks being conducted to that end by former Presidents Nyerere and Carter and by the other mediators designated by the Cairo Conference, as well as to the efforts being made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union. We believe that the international community must not wait until the current political, economic and social crisis in Burundi swells to the point of a humanitarian disaster such as that which occurred in Rwanda. Urgent measures should be taken to prevent the rise of tensions and to eliminate any possibility of genocide in Burundi or of an exodus of refugees. That is why we consider it important that the Secretary-General continue his consultations with the Member States concerned and with the OAU with regard to the measures that could be adopted in support of a broad dialogue and a rapid humanitarian response should the situation in Burundi worsen.

My delegation also believes that the political support given by the international community to the National Debate, agreed to by the signatories of the Convention on Governance, should be accompanied by broad cooperation with the Government to support the economic rehabilitation of Burundi's economy and judicial system and reform its armed forces and police.

It is a source of great concern that over the past year acts of violence have increased against civilians, refugees and international humanitarian assistance personnel in Burundi. Incitement to violence and ethnic hatred can only contribute to destabilizing the security situation in that country even further. My delegation therefore agrees that the Council should condemn such acts in the strongest terms and demand that those responsible refrain from them.

As long as the situation of insecurity persists, it is impossible to expect refugees and internally displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes. The high risk involved in returning to Burundi has been recognized by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international organizations. Even if refugees and displaced persons decided to return, there would be little possibility of their being able to live a normal life, since in many areas of Burundi economic and social activities have been hampered or paralysed by the crisis.

There have already been several attempts by the countries of the region to work together to find solutions to the refugee crisis. Those attempts have been deferred or abandoned because of the lack of political will shown by some of the parties in Burundi. My delegation believes that it is important to take up this issue without further delay at a regional level. We believe that the proposed Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region could constitute the appropriate framework to deal with the refugee crisis. We therefore support the initiatives of the Secretary-General and the Governments of the region to promote the holding of that Conference.

We wish to conclude by appealing to all the parties in Burundi to cooperate with the Commission of Inquiry established by the Council through resolution 1012 (1995), and to the Government to provide security and protection for the Commission's personnel, as well as for

the personnel of humanitarian organizations, so that they can function effectively. For all those reasons my delegation supports all the terms of the draft resolution now before the Council.

The President: I thank the representative of Honduras for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Fedotov: (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): As this is the first statement by a representative of the Russian Federation in March, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I also request the United States delegation to convey to Ambassador Albright our gratitude for the way in which she successfully presided over the Council last month.

The Russian Federation is greatly concerned by the complex situation in Burundi, which for a long time has been hovering on the brink of disaster. The severity of the protracted crisis, which has already cost tens of thousands of lives, has generated a wave of refugees and displaced persons. This further exacerbates the situation by threatening to destabilize the region as a whole. For more than two years the Security Council has been paying close attention to the situation in Burundi, and this is the second formal meeting of the Council on this subject in the first quarter of this year in which all the Member States of the United Nations interested in a speedy solution to this problem have participated. We hope that such a manifestation of special interest in Burundi by the international community will give a powerful impetus to achieving a speedy solution.

The draft resolution before the Council today reflects the deep concern of the international community over the situation in Burundi, as well as its readiness to seek adequate and balanced measures to help normalize it. Priority is clearly given to preventive diplomacy, with emphasis on the need for the immediate resumption of a comprehensive and constructive dialogue and the activation of the process of national reconciliation. Only this will put an end to the conflict in Burundi and break the vicious cycle of violence there.

We consider it important to make optimum use of the peace-keeping potential of the Organization of African Unity, other regional organizations, neighbouring countries of the region and other interested States. We believe that preparations should be stepped up for a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region, with a view to further consolidating political and economic stability in that region.

At the same time, Burundi extremists of all stripes must be given a clear warning that, should there be any broad escalation of violence or any serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation, the international community would be prepared, if necessary, to take adequate measures for a humanitarian response, from the range of appropriate options available. We strongly urge the parties to the conflict in Burundi to show common sense and avail themselves of all opportunities to achieve a speedy, mutually acceptable settlement, for the good of the people of Burundi. In turn, the international community, as the draft resolution stresses, stands ready to render all necessary support and assistance. Inasmuch as the draft resolution before us gives proper emphasis to the priority the international community attaches to overcoming the crisis in Burundi, the Russian delegation will vote in favour of it.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that with your outstanding abilities and wealth of diplomatic experience you will be able to guide the work of the Council this month to a successful conclusion. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of the United States, Mrs. Albright, for presiding over the work of the Council last month and for completing the task before the Council.

A few moments ago the Permanent Representative of Burundi, on behalf of the Burundi Government, made a comprehensive statement on the situation in Burundi, which deserves our serious consideration. The Chinese Government has been concerned all along about the development of the situation in Burundi and sincerely hopes that peace and stability in that country will be restored as soon as possible. We have also made our own efforts in this regard. We are pleased to note the common understanding and determination manifested by the highest authorities in Burundi for the solution of the Burundi question. They are engaged in the process of restoring peace and stability in their country so that the overall situation there will move towards improvement. At this point, the Government of Burundi is engaged in its third campaign for the return of peace. All of this is

conducive to stability in the Burundi situation, and we wish to commend and support this effort.

Even though the situation in Burundi is beginning to move in a positive direction, the country still faces many difficulties in the political, security and humanitarian fields. The international community, particularly the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), have made tireless efforts for the proper solution of the question of Burundi. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative for mediation and good offices have made a series of diplomatic and political efforts. A few days ago in Addis Ababa, the Council of Ministers of the OAU gave special attention to the question of Burundi and decided to request the former President of Tanzania, Mr. Nyerere, to continue his good offices as facilitator in the search for a political settlement of the Burundi question.

The draft resolution that the Council is about to adopt indicates that the international community, in striving for humanitarian objectives, will continue to give impetus to a broad dialogue involving all sides in Burundi in order to establish mutual trust, so that Burundi will achieve national reconciliation at the earliest possible date.

We have all along held the view that the internal affairs of a country should be settled by the people of that country themselves. The international community can provide assistance, but it cannot engage in interference in the name of assistance.

The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. However, it is our understanding, with regard to the draft resolution, no matter what kind of action the Security Council takes in the future, including a humanitarian response, it should consult with the country concerned, obtain its consent and broadly canvass the view of all parties. Whether or not the question of Burundi can be appropriately resolved affects not only the economic development of Burundi and the life of its people, but also the peace and stability of the entire Great Lakes region. Therefore, we urge all parties in Burundi to act in the interest of their country by carrying out a broad-based dialogue as soon as possible and responding effectively to the appeals contained in the resolutions of the Security Council to create conditions for an early national reconciliation and to make their contribution to regional peace and stability.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): Let me begin by extending to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We are confident that your outstanding capabilities, experience and wisdom will guide the deliberations of the Council to a productive outcome. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Albright of the United States, for her successful conduct of the business of the Security Council during the month of February.

My delegation notes with appreciation the Secretary General's comprehensive report (S/1996/116) on the situation in Burundi. It is heartening to note the Secretary General's assessment that the situation has somewhat calmed down lately in the country. Although this welcome turnaround may be partly attributable to the energetic campaigns which the Ambassador of Burundi, in his statement made just a little while ago, characterized as his Government's broad crusade to rally together the population, the national army and the administration for the return of peace in his country, we should certainly take pride in the fact that the Security Council's adoption of resolution 1040 (1996) on 29 January last has made an impact in moving things in this direction. However, we are mindful that the overall situation in Burundi remains volatile and serious enough to warrant the continued vigilance of the international community. We remain deeply concerned at the persistence of violence, the dire humanitarian situation and the continued incitement to ethnic hatred by radio stations.

My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for the prominent role it has played in monitoring peace in Burundi under trying conditions and with meagre financial resources. It should be encouraged to strengthen its role there by expanding its military observer mission, although the OAU cannot be left alone to bear the onerous burden of maintaining the peace there. Given the far-reaching implications of the eruption of a humanitarian tragedy in Burundi for the peace and stability of the entire Great Lakes region, it is clear that the United Nations must remain alert to ensure stability and peace in the region.

As the situation stands now, the international community faces two crucial challenges in bringing lasting peace and stability to Burundi. One is how to forestall the recurrence of a humanitarian disaster of the kind we witnessed earlier in Rwanda. The other is how to bring about a lasting political settlement by addressing the root causes of the conflict. We view the Secretary-

General's recommendations contained in document S/1996/116 from this perspective. To deal with these daunting challenges, the Secretary-General proposes a two-track approach: the promotion of political dialogue in the context of preventive diplomacy and a contingency plan to avoid a catastrophe.

Political dialogue across the whole political spectrum in Burundi is a *sine qua non*, and the ideal means to resolve the simmering Burundian crisis. But the international community needs a viable alternative in case the track of political dialogue proves ineffectual in bringing about the much-hoped-for mutual accommodation and national reconciliation. Moreover, the two tracks of dialogue and contingency planning are complementary and reinforce each other. International efforts for a political settlement of the crisis through dialogue have a better chance of success if they are backed by a credible contingency plan for a timely response in the event of a serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation. Another important merit of the idea is that good advance planning often pays off by making actual intervention unnecessary. It is our understanding that paragraphs 12 and 13 of the draft resolution before the Council reflect in a balanced manner the widely shared expectations and concerns of the international community in acting upon the Secretary-General's recommendations.

My Government supports and welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union (EU) and former Presidents Nyerere and Carter to promote political dialogue in Burundi. Given the indivisibility of peace and stability in the Great Lakes region, we recognize the importance of addressing the fundamental causes of the internal conflict in Burundi in a subregional context. In this respect, we support the holding of a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region and encourage the Secretary-General to intensify his preparations for such a conference in close consultation with Member States concerned, the OAU and the EU.

My delegation stresses that international efforts to facilitate dialogue in Burundi cannot replace the efforts of the Burundian parties themselves to come to terms with one another and to live in peace and prosperity. Since most Burundian parties are currently represented in the Coalition Government under a power-sharing arrangement, the priority of the international effort should be to ensure that all parties abide by the letter and spirit of the Convention of Government so that the Coalition Government can work as it should.

The international community can play a meaningful role to this end by helping to organize a national debate embracing Burundian leaders of all political persuasions and by guaranteeing the implementation of any agreement resulting from the debate. In this respect, we call upon all parties in Burundi to put aside their factional interests and exert political good will towards achieving mutual accommodation and genuine national reconciliation.

My delegation wishes to join previous speakers in expressing profound appreciation to the non-aligned caucus for its hard work in producing the excellent draft resolution before the Council today.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): I want to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Your proven skills, your realistic attitude and the down-to-earth way in which you conduct business make us look forward to working successfully under your guidance.

Let me take this opportunity also to convey our gratitude and our appreciation to Ambassador Albright for her very effective way of presiding over the Security Council, which helped us through 29 days — and one long night — of February.

Germany supports fully the statement Italy has made on behalf of the European Union.

As the Secretary-General has pointed out, his recent report of 15 February 1996 represents the fourth time in less than seven weeks that he has brought the issue of Burundi to the attention of the Security Council. The Secretary-General goes on to say that he has done so in the conviction that the situation in the country is desperately serious.

It is therefore most appropriate, Mr. President, that you have provided an opportunity to the members of the Council and to the general membership of the United Nations to express their views on the situation in Burundi and to discuss what the international community should do. As members know, Germany strongly supports this increase in transparency.

Even if the situation at present is somewhat calmer, our deep concern remains. We are concerned at the acts

of violence. We are concerned at the incitement to ethnic hatred. We are concerned that the situation might escalate. We are concerned at the humanitarian situation. Burundi needs serious and comprehensive dialogue leading to a permanent political settlement and national reconciliation. This is not an easy task under the prevailing circumstances. But it is not impossible either. The signatories of the Convention of Government have agreed to a national debate. This should be the framework for the much-needed dialogue.

Dialogue will not be possible in a violent environment. Therefore, all parties, including and particularly those who hold extremist positions, are called upon to refrain from acts of violence. Furthermore, the dissemination in Burundi of propaganda which incites hatred must stop. The radio waves in Burundi should be used to promote reconciliation and dialogue, and to relay constructive information.

It is the responsibility of the Burundi parties to do everything they can to achieve a peaceful settlement. But they are not alone. Efforts are being made to help bring about the settlement by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, by the Organization of African Unity, by the European Union, which has just nominated a special representative for the Great Lakes region, by former Presidents Nyerere and Carter and by the other facilitators appointed by the Cairo Conference. This long list of facilitators alone shows how difficult the situation is.

Governments, in their bilateral contacts, also support efforts to bring about a peaceful solution. My Government is among them. The economic recovery of Burundi, with the assistance of the international community, will only be possible in a peaceful and stable environment.

What happens in Burundi will have repercussions beyond the country's borders and, depending on what road it takes, may pose a threat to the stability of the whole region or reinforce it. Preparations for convening a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region should therefore be intensified.

Today, the Council will vote on the draft resolution concerning the situation in Burundi. For the reasons stated, Germany strongly supports this draft resolution and will vote in favour of it.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me very sincerely and warmly to join those who have praised you, Mr. President, and your predecessor.

In late December last, the Secretary-General drew the Security Council's attention to the danger threatening Burundi of a humanitarian catastrophe on the scale of that experienced by Rwanda in 1994. In doing so, the Secretary-General was duly discharging his responsibilities. The delegation of France, in the light of the following two considerations, has studied the report that he subsequently submitted.

First, we must recall the facts: the situation in Burundi remains fragile and worrisome. However, the institutions that emerged from the conclusion in September 1994 of the Convention on Governance must be encouraged to pursue their work to promote peace, restore order and foster national reconciliation. This joint effort of the Burundi authorities, supported by the Security Council, the European Union, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the entire international community, has already borne some fruit.

Secondly, the Council must ensure that its decisions do not run counter to the efforts of the Government of Burundi. It is normal for the Council to demonstrate its vigilance by preparing to come to the assistance of the people of Burundi if the situation so requires. At the same time, such preparations must not lead extremists of every stripe to push the country into the abyss. We must therefore be very mindful of how those primarily concerned, the inhabitants of Burundi, perceive our decisions.

France supports the Secretary-General's proposals aimed at preventive diplomacy, as was also recommended by the OAU Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Addis Ababa on 29 February last.

It is thus important to urge the principal players in Burundi to engage in dialogue and at the same time to bolster the position of the authorities of Burundi by encouraging the President and the Government to work closely together. To that end, the missions carried out by the various mediators of the international community must be supported by the Security Council.

It will then be important to implement preventive measures aimed at defusing dangerous situations. The harmful role of certain radio stations has long been

denounced by the Government of Burundi itself. Measures must therefore be taken to assist it in the task of dismantling these stations. The Government of Burundi has also asked the OAU to increase the number of its observers in the field. The OAU Foreign Ministers recently decided to do just that, and we must welcome their decision.

Finally and above all, the international community must be enabled to respond to an emergency humanitarian situation. We must therefore explore possible options that would allow the international community to respond in the most appropriate manner — and hence in a humanitarian manner — to a disaster, should one occur despite all attempts to avert it.

In the view of the French delegation, the draft resolution prepared by the members of the caucus is responsive to the views we have just expressed. That is why the French delegation will support the draft resolution when it is put to the vote.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

There are still a number of speakers. In view of the lateness of the hour, and with the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m. and resumed at 4.50 p.m.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Allow me to begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. We are confident that with your widely known diplomatic skills, your knowledge and a great deal of optimism, you will successfully conduct the work of this body. Let me also assure you of the full cooperation and support of the delegation of Poland.

I should like also to pay a special tribute to Her Excellency Ambassador Madeleine Albright for the outstanding manner in which she presided over the Council in the month of February.

Only a month ago the Security Council discussed the developments in Burundi. The Polish delegation joined others in expressing its concern about the direction in which the events in the county were evolving. As then, today also we associate ourselves with the statement on Burundi delivered by the Italian delegation on behalf of the European Union.

The situation in Burundi remains a matter of grave concern to the international community. Although the last Secretary-General's report notes certain signs of consolidation of the uneasy peace in the country, the political and security environment in Burundi continues to be tense and volatile. Hence, an intensification of international efforts to avert a further worsening of the situation seems to be imperative.

The draft resolution under consideration reflects the conviction that combined political endeavours on the part of the international community can still be effective and that the possibilities of exerting diplomatic and political influence on the parties concerned have not yet been exhausted and should be adequately enhanced.

At the same time, the draft resolution recognizes that without the firm commitment of the people of Burundi to achieve a lasting political resolution of the conflict, the international community might not be in a position to solve the problems that the Burundian State is faced with. The underlying assumption of the draft resolution before us is that the situation in Burundi has not yet reached a stage at which preventive diplomacy must be replaced with preventive action. Nevertheless, we agree that the Secretary-General should continue his considerations of steps for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or a serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Burundi.

The principal message conveyed in the draft resolution is that further evolution of the situation in Burundi will depend both on the parties to the dispute — especially the more radical factions among them — and on the assistance of the international community. It is precisely for this reason that in the draft resolution under debate the Security Council expresses its strong support for the diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union, former Presidents Nyerere and Carter and other facilitators appointed by the Cairo Conference. Similarly, the Council extends its support to those forces in Burundi that are ready to pursue political options to defuse the present crisis and to engage in serious negotiations within the framework of the National Debate established in accordance with the Convention on Governance.

Supporting the efforts from within the Country to contain violence and resist factional friction, the Council expresses deep concern at the assistance provided to certain groups operating in Burundi by some of the

perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda, as well as at the activities of radio stations aimed at inflaming ethnic hatred.

Bearing in mind the potential threat that such forces pose, *inter alia*, to the stability of the region, a political action by all the parties involved in Burundi to reach a durable stabilization which would lead to genuine national reconciliation is urgently needed.

Since reconciliation cannot be attained without an environment of personal security among the faction-ridden people of Burundi, the draft resolution pertinently draws the attention of both the international community and the Government of Burundi to the importance of building a reliable local police force which would not arouse fear among the Burundian population.

The draft resolution also refers to cooperation in the domain of military reform. The professionalization of the Burundian army and its restructuring on a wider base of recruitment, comprising all the ethnic groups, seems to be essential for the stability of the country.

It is important to note that the draft resolution addresses the issue of security of aid personnel who seek to ensure the continued delivery of humanitarian relief to the Burundian population. This is a matter of fundamental importance for the survival of the Burundian State, because humanitarian assistance has become a major factor within the overall Burundian economy, stricken by years of violent political and social upheaval.

Taking into account all the aforementioned reasons, the Polish delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution under consideration.

The President: I thank the representative of Poland for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Mano Queta (Guinea-Bissau)(*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Guinea-Bissau would like to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of this Council for the month of March. We are convinced that our work will be marked by your wisdom and competence. We would also like to pay tribute to your eminent predecessor, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States, on the effective way in which she presided over the Council last month.

This meeting shows once again that despite certain encouraging signs in the development of the situation in Burundi, it continues to be a source of deep concern for the international community.

My delegation would like to associate itself with the thanks expressed to the Secretary-General for his exhaustive and enlightening report on the situation in Burundi, which was submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1040 (1996) of 29 January 1996.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Marc Faguy, to the Organization of African Unity, to the European Union and to the humanitarian organizations for their efforts to find peace and stability for the people of Burundi. In the same spirit, we would like to pay tribute to former President Julius Nyerere, to former President Jimmy Carter and to the eminent leaders of neighbouring countries for the remarkable role they are playing to help that people achieve national reconciliation and restore peace and stability to the region.

The Secretary-General emphasizes, especially in his report, the fact that the settlement of the crisis in Burundi will depend upon the political will of the parties to the conflict. We endorse this view, and we therefore launch once again an urgent appeal to all the parties concerned to participate constructively in the comprehensive political dialogues referred to in the draft resolution we are about to adopt.

My delegation believes that the restoration of confidence and security is one of the essential conditions for United Nations institutions and non-governmental organizations to carry out effectively their task in Burundi. In this regard, we congratulate the President and Prime Minister of Burundi on the positive initiatives they have taken to foster the National Debate and to encourage other activities for promoting peace.

Guinea-Bissau also welcomes the commitment of the institutions of the State of Burundi in the campaign for the restoration of peace by peaceful means and the relatively positive signs mentioned in the Secretary-General's report. We urgently ask the Burundi parties to take into account the national interests of the State, to begin a dialogue on a wider basis and implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

We hope that the adoption of the draft resolution under consideration, which shows once again the determination and commitment of the international community, will encourage a frank and constructive

dialogue between all the parties in Burundi so that they can overcome their differences and lay the foundations for national reconciliation and national reconstruction.

We shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea-Bissau for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Botswana.

The situation in Burundi continues to be a source of deep concern for the international community. The political and security situation have deteriorated steadily since the assassination of the democratically elected President in 1993, resulting in a grave humanitarian situation. Acts of violence and the general climate of insecurity are making it difficult for the personnel of international humanitarian organizations to continue their operations. This unstable political situation has had a negative impact on the productive sectors of the economy. The displacement of tens of thousands of people has dealt a severe blow to the agricultural sector, which contributes about 90 per cent to the national economy.

The growth of extremist groups both inside and outside the country is most worrying, to say the least. Even more disturbing is the attempt to annihilate moderate political forces that are prepared to seek a negotiated political settlement in Burundi. The international community has repeatedly called for negotiations, to bring an end to the crisis. Unfortunately, extremists are determined, increasingly, to engage in acts aimed at destabilizing and deposing the Government and rendering the country ungovernable. Concerted efforts have been made by some to remove President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya from office, while others have intensified attacks on strategic installations in the countryside.

Botswana supports an early negotiated settlement to the political stalemate. We urge the people of Burundi to do all in their power to engage in negotiations aimed at bringing an immediate end to the hatred festering in their country's body politic. Their political leaders must rise above their petty quarrels to save their beautiful country from total collapse and chaos.

Botswana is strongly convinced that only a political solution in which the rights of all the people of Burundi, irrespective of ethnicity, will be protected and respected can end the carnage and bring peace and stability to that hapless country. My delegation appeals to the people of Burundi, of all political persuasions, both inside and outside the country, to begin, without delay, the process of negotiations aimed at bringing about national reconciliation. We especially call on all the political forces — all of them — that are committed to a search for a solution through political dialogue to gain courage from the fact that they have the support of the international community. The international community stands ready to assist all those who are committed to a peaceful settlement.

While political dialogue is undoubtedly the option of first choice, the international community cannot afford to watch impassively as extremist elements become emboldened and create conditions which are likely to lead to a severe deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Burundi. It is imperative therefore that the international community should be united on the need for contingency planning for a robust response in the event that the humanitarian situation deteriorates further and violence becomes widespread and uncontrollable. The international community has learnt a bitter lesson from the genocide in Rwanda. There can be no justification for lack of preparedness in the event of an outbreak of violence on a large scale in Burundi.

I resume my function as President of the Council.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invited him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aass (Norway): I join in the many, well-deserved congratulatory remarks that have been expressed to you, Mr. President.

In substance, Norway supports the comments expressed in particular by the presidency of the European Union. Specifically, as underlined in the European Union statement, there is no viable solution outside political dialogue. Dialogue is the only way to achieve lasting peace and national reconciliation in Burundi.

My Government has been paying a great deal of attention to the situation in the Great Lakes region and has adopted a plan of action for assistance to the region. As part of this plan, the Government has allocated in excess of $20 million in bilateral humanitarian assistance and support for peace and reconciliation efforts in Rwanda and Burundi for 1996.

Norway strongly supports the international mediation efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as it does those of the Organization of African Unity and prominent African leaders such as former President Nyerere of Tanzania. We also welcome the recent appointment by the European Union of a special envoy for the Great Lakes region. We hope that this international presence has impressed on potential perpetrators the seriousness with which the international community views violent threats to the process of negotiated change. From the outset we have supported the efforts to convene an international conference on cooperation, security and stability in the Great Lakes region and we hope to see progress achieved soon.

The situation in Burundi is not without encouraging signs. The "*Campagne de Sensibilisation*" — the raising of awareness — which the Government has promoted seems to have contributed to a decline in violence, and we strongly hope that this development will continue. However, there is still reason to be deeply concerned about the security situation for the civilian population as well as for international humanitarian relief agencies and their workers.

In our view, without a strong commitment from the Government to reconciliation and peace, as well as adequate security guarantees and respect for human rights, it will not be possible for the international community to provide the necessary assistance to the authorities for rehabilitation and national reconstruction.

It is with this humanitarian aim in mind that the international community has discussed possible measures and contingency plans for improving the security situation in Burundi. These measures should be appreciated for what they are intended to be: a means of support, a handshake for the Government's own efforts towards peace and reconciliation.

The President: I thank the representative of Norway for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the African group.

I should like to begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, upon your accession to the Presidency of the Council. Your extensive experience and renowned talents as a veteran diplomat augur well, we are sure, for the success of the Council's work. We are proud to see a highly skilled son of Africa presiding over this august body and participating actively in consolidating peace in Africa and in the world.

We take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of the United States, Mrs. Madeleine Albright, for her praiseworthy efforts in presiding over the Council last month, when it dealt with African issues.

The Security Council is considering the situation in Burundi for the second time in a month. That assuredly is a sign of grave concern on the part of this body and on the part of the international community as a whole, in view of the duration of the crisis and the persisting instability of the country. Meanwhile, the humanitarian situation is seriously deteriorating, the political institutions are hamstrung and the economy and infrastructure of the country are gravely threatened.

Can it ever be repeated enough to the parties concerned in Burundi that violence is a poor adviser; that recourse to force, far from resolving problems and differences, only aggravates them and that the only path to safety and security is that of dialogue and national reconciliation? That alone can foster a peaceful settlement that will spare the people of Burundi from bloodshed.

The relative improvement of the climate of security in Bujumbura is a positive sign of which we take note, and we encourage the significant efforts made by the Government of Burundi to restore peace and security. However, at the same time we cannot fail to note the absence of tangible progress towards a solution to the substantive problems the country is experiencing. We urge the people of Burundi, particularly the political and armed forces, to demonstrate a firm commitment to dialogue, peace and national reconciliation. We launch an appeal to all these forces to work together to implement the Convention on Governance in order to restore and consolidate peace and security and bring democracy back to Burundi.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), which opportunely sent military observers to Burundi and extended their mandate by three months last December, has already considered the situation in the country through its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention,

Management and Resolution. That organization, under the leadership of its acting chairman, is making tireless efforts to assist the parties in Burundi to achieve a lasting political settlement. To that end, it is important that consultations and coordination in support of joint political dialogue be continued between OAU, the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat.

The international community must continue and strengthen, by all appropriate means, its assistance and encouragement to the parties concerned in Burundi for the commencement and speedy conclusion of such a dialogue. In this context, it seems to us that silencing the radio stations sowing hatred and discord is one of the priority needs.

We reiterate our appeal for greater cooperation between the countries of the region in their search for a lasting solution to the problems of insecurity and instability. At their last meeting, held in Addis Ababa from 26 February to 28 February 1996, the Council of Ministers of OAU reiterated its support for the convening of a regional conference on security, stability and development in the Great Lakes region.

In the humanitarian field, urgent and increased assistance to displaced persons in Burundi and to Burundian refugees in neighbouring countries is necessary, especially within the context of the implementation of the Bujumbura Action Plan.

Following the Cairo Conference, held on 28 and 29 November 1995, a second international conference on the Great Lakes region, in which the Presidents of Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania will participate, will be held in Tunis next week. This conference will consider a number of issues, particularly humanitarian issues relating to refugees and the economic and security situation of the region. It will contribute to the restoration of security, peace and stability and will be a landmark on the road to development and reconstruction in Burundi and in all the countries of the subregion.

Finally, we launch an appeal to the Burundi authorities to improve measures to ensure the security and protection of the personnel of international and non-governmental organizations so as to facilitate their humanitarian efforts.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his lavish and touching words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Rwanda, on whom I now call.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, on behalf of the delegation of Rwanda, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that your wisdom and wide experience will enable the Security Council to assume fully its responsibilities to the satisfaction of the Member States of the Organization.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Albright and her delegation for the important work done under her presidency during the month of February.

The delegation of Rwanda welcomes the initiative to hold an open debate on Burundi. This initiative, which we could regard as a sort of African palaver around a tree, is necessary for us, the Africans within this Organization, who constitute a majority but who, unfortunately, represent the least privileged continent, some of whose countries are a fixture on the Security Council's agenda. This open debate allows us to express ourselves and to hope that one day we will be adequately heard and understood.

My delegation would like to approach the Burundi question mainly within the subregional context of the Great Lakes countries. The ills suffered by Burundi are a contagious gangrene that affects the entire subregion. That is why, while respecting the specific and particular nature of each country of the subregion, there are points that merit common consideration and that affect Burundi.

The first point is the institutionalization of impunity within the subregion. This point reached its culmination during and after the genocide in Rwanda. Not only were the criminals not prevented from committing their misdeeds, but neither were they pursued in the subregion. On the contrary, in some cases they have even benefited from special protection. The result of this culture of impunity has been to encourage criminals of all stripes, from Rwanda as well as from Burundi. They have organized, trained and armed themselves, and they have stirred the beginnings of a genocide in Burundi.

Through its inaction or the inadequacy of its response, the international community has encouraged the impunity that has been institutionalized in the subregion.

Consequently, the problem of Burundi cannot be solved unless the subregion's culture of impunity is eradicated.

The second problem is *laissez-faire*: the typical hands-off attitude which fosters the deterioration of the situation in the subregion. Rwanda has lost one eighth of its population as a result of hate propaganda spread through radio broadcasts. Everyone recognizes the powerful impact of radio broadcasts promoting hatred in Rwanda. The same kind of radio floods the Burundian countryside with messages of hatred and calls for extermination. No adequate action has been taken to prevent these perpetrators of crimes against humanity from sowing hatred among the people.

There is similar *laissez-faire* with respect to arming and training criminals and infiltrating them into Burundi. The culture of impunity to which I have referred has enabled the criminal perpetrators of genocide in Rwanda to forge links with extremists in Burundi by helping them in the extermination techniques for which they are notorious. We hope that one day this South-South cooperation will take a more positive turn. Meanwhile, no one gives a thought to stopping these criminals. To the contrary, Burundian army forces have been harshly criticized and domestic movements attempting to organize in order to avert the kind of extermination that has taken place in Rwanda have been labeled extremist. We are duty-bound to hail the various Burundian institutions whose composure has enabled them to safeguard the country's sovereignty and the stability of its population in the face of varied provocations.

The subregion's third problem is a lack of consultation with the countries concerned. Many solutions and decisions are devised, and the international community then confronts the countries concerned with a *fait accompli*. A country's problems as explained by its citizens are not being properly addressed. Rather, initiatives are taken and are imposed on the country. One example is the idea of military intervention in Burundi. On whose behalf would such an intervention be carried out, and against whom? How are these foreign forces to tell good Burundians from bad Burundians? They will not be wearing badges. In the meantime, no one talks about dismantling the radio transmitters that spread hatred. No one talks about putting a stop to infiltration by criminals. These are what the people of Burundi have told the international community they need.

Yet if these two problems were solved, the people of Burundi could enjoy a respite that would enable them to come together in constructive dialogue. Such a respite is vital for the peoples of the Great Lakes region; it cannot be achieved through United Nations-style big conferences, lifting with ideas and behind-the-scenes observers — and gauged more by their cost than by their impact. Such conferences will not get the people in the hills of Burundi to lay down their weapons and come to an understanding; they will not stop the criminal perpetrators of genocide.

The fourth element I think is important for the region is the economic situation, which was fragile at the outset and which is quickly deteriorating because of the political situation. Hopeless poverty is not conducive to peace in the subregion.

We must change our methods and our approach to solving African problems in general and the problems of the Great Lakes countries in particular. First of all, the Great Lakes countries themselves must participate actively in the search for solutions to their problems. Countries like Burundi have created institutions that will enable them to resolve their own problems, such as the Convention of Government and the various commissions that have been set up to resolve specific problems. The international community has a duty to let these institutions work in an atmosphere of calm by preventing infiltration by criminals and by silencing hate-mongering radio. If there is to be outside military intervention, that should be its sole purpose.

We hail two great sons of Africa, President Julius Nyerere and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for their initiative to bring peace to the subregion. This is the kind of initiative to support. Similarly, the Carter Center and President Carter himself deserve commendation.

To help the people of Burundi take their own problems in hand, the culture of impunity in the subregion must be eradicated, which is all the more possible given that the nature of this crime affects all of mankind. Once again, the international community has a role to play and responsibilities to shoulder. It knows perfectly well where the criminals are. It has the means to destroy or jam hate-mongering radio transmitters. It must shoulder its responsibilities before the region flares up and new genocide is committed.

Economic support for the countries of the subregion would contribute to easing tensions.

We want to draw the attention of the international community to organizations that take advantage of the poverty of the subregion to create programmes and projects that only benefit their organizers without much impact on the recipients. Other projects, so-called development projects, are political and divisive in nature; these include "environmental" projects now being planned. They should be redesigned to become holistic, not only in their conception, but also in the sense that they should cover areas affected by the presence of refugees. They must avoid promoting the "industry of poverty" in the subregion.

I wish to conclude by calling once more for greater participation by the Great Lakes countries in decisions affecting their fate, and for far greater involvement by national institutions and subregional and regional organizations in finding solutions for this part of Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Congo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abibi (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Congo, Sir, has many reasons to be pleased to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. Among these reasons we would highlight your qualities as a seasoned diplomat, your wisdom and your extensive experience and understanding of United Nations affairs, as well as the very warm fraternal relationship between our two delegations. We are convinced that under your leadership the Security Council will do remarkable work.

We wish also to convey to your predecessor, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, hearty congratulations on the highly professional manner in which she conducted the Council's business and on the results achieved during the month of February.

My delegation endorses the statement just made by the Permanent Representative of Tunisia on behalf of the African Group.

Burundi and Congo have many common ties; our location on the same continent and in the same subregion, central Africa. Our mottoes are the same: "Unity — work — progress". Congo, like other countries of the subregion, stands behind the efforts of the people of Burundi, with the active support of the international community and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to overcome their current difficulties and to start out on an authentic process of national reconciliation.

This was the principal concern of the representatives of the States of our subregion when they met a few months ago in Brazzaville within the framework of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, a Committee currently under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of the Congo. In the statement — the Brazzaville declaration — which they adopted then, the States members of the Committee expressed their deep concern at the ongoing tension and violence in the central African subregion. They noted that the situation has caused immense loss of human life and undesirable suffering for the population, including massive flows of refugees. The resulting insecurity is undermining the development efforts of the Governments and peoples of the subregion, despite their wealth of resources.

My country is of the view that this is still a valid analysis and believes that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the subregion rests with the peoples and Governments of the countries concerned. That is why we have always encouraged efforts along these lines, specifically, in the case of Burundi, those which help our brothers in that country to consolidate the process of national reconciliation and the restoration of peace.

From this point of view, in our opinion the Convention on Governance remains, in the current circumstances, an essential element in laying the foundations of an effective national reconciliation. But any lasting solution, if it is to survive the challenges facing Burundi and other countries of the subregion, will need close cooperation between the international community, the OAU, the subregional institutions and the countries concerned.

My country welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and strongly supports the initiatives of the OAU, former President Nyerere and others of good will to promote political dialogue between our brothers in Burundi despite all the odds against them. The path of dialogue is indeed the only course that will allow Burundi to renounce once and for all the mindset of confrontation, violence and exclusion and promote true national reconciliation and

guarantee the stability and security necessary to improve living conditions for the people.

That is the fraternal message which we send once again to our brothers in Burundi on the occasion of the Security Council's adoption of a draft resolution which, in our opinion, takes into account every aspect of the current situation in Burundi.

The President: I thank the representative of Congo for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Permit me, on behalf of the delegation of Nigeria, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your well-known diplomatic skills and sense of humour assure my delegation that the conduct of the business of the Council is in good hands.

I should like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Madeleine Albright, the Permanent Representative of the United States, for her gracious and effective stewardship last month.

We have read with interest the latest report on Burundi, and commend the Secretary-General on his bold and imaginative efforts in presenting the current state of play in that country. Our delegation, as a member of the Council for the past two years, was privileged to participate in two missions at Burundi. On the basis both of our experience on the ground during the two missions and of the available literature on the subject, we cannot but share the concerns and frustrations expressed in the Secretary-General's report.

But, more importantly, we must draw attention to the overriding need to do something promptly and in a preventive manner to stop Burundi slipping further into violence and bloodshed. While there has been general concern about the events in Burundi, it has not been possible for the international community to match this concern with concrete action. My delegation agrees with the observation that any solution to the crisis in Burundi will depend on the combined political will of the parties in conflict and the willingness of the international community. Furthermore, any action that is contemplated in this regard must have the support of the people of Burundi if it is to succeed.

Nevertheless, we should not allow the international community to be held hostage to a veto from or, the sensitivities of any particular group in Burundi. The majority of the people in Burundi desire peace and are prepared to live with one another in peace. Experience has shown that, whenever the Security Council speaks with one voice, the majority of the people in Burundi do listen. As we see it, it is high time that something concrete was done by the international community to strengthen the hands of all the moderate forces in Burundi. Already, the increased attention being paid to Burundi by the international community has somewhat stabilized the situation there in recent weeks. We need to build on that.

The nature of assistance to Burundi must be multidimensional, socio-economic, technical and diplomatic, and must involve efforts at the national, subregional and international levels, all working in tandem.

In this regard, the efforts of the Government of Burundi to promote dialogue are crucial. The improved coordination and cooperation between the President and the Prime Minister is a good development in that direction. Closely related to this is the proposal to hold a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region to address the issues of political and economic stability as well as peace and security in the Great Lakes States. We hope it will be possible to find a mutually acceptable basis for such a vital meeting between the countries of the region.

At the continental level, we would like to commend the contributions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in particular that of its Observer Mission. The enormous sacrifice made by the OAU to help arrest the situation in Burundi needs to be strengthened by financial and logistical support from members of the international community. It would be unfortunate if this important instrument of preventive action were not sustained due to lack of resources.

My delegation therefore hopes that the Security Council will give serious consideration to steps that should be taken in a preventive manner to supplement and strengthen the various initiatives and diplomatic efforts. We also hope that the donor countries will help address the socio-economic difficulties of the people of Burundi.

With regard to the draft resolution the Security Council is about to adopt, we believe it is a balanced text in that it recognizes the primacy of dialogue and painstaking negotiations in trying to resolve the serious socio-political problems in Burundi. It also expresses the intention of the Security Council to support those processes and maintain a hands-on policy on developments in Burundi, including contingency planning for possible humanitarian intervention, should that become necessary. My delegation would, however, like to sound a note of caution: any such efforts or preparations must respect the sovereignty of Burundi and the expressed wish of its Government. Any initiative that attempts to sidestep this condition carries with it serious difficulties and could, in the end, be counterproductive.

In conclusion, let me reiterate the appeals that have been made to all the forces and political groups in Burundi to give peace a chance and cooperate with the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, its agencies and bodies and all other personalities engaged in seeking a solution to the crisis in Burundi and in assisting the people to live in peace.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1996/162) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1049 (1996).

The representative of Burundi has asked to speak once again, and I now call on him.

Mr. Terence (Burundi): The adoption of this resolution leads me to express, on behalf of my Government, our sincere thanks to all the members of the Security Council for this important development in the process of the search for peace in my country.

Some operative paragraphs deserve more praise than others. One of them, operative paragraph 6, deals with the decision of the Council to establish a United Nations radio station. This initiative would have an extraordinarily beneficial impact on public opinion and on Burundi society. We think that this kind of innovation deserves gratitude from my country, and, of course, we hope that the implementation of this paragraph will not remain a dead letter. On all grounds, we think that a resolution of this type is far more realistic than other options, which might jeopardize all the efforts made in this process towards peace.

In conclusion, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency I congratulated you and also stated how beneficial and important the task you are discharging is. However, I was expecting to have this opportunity to speak of Botswana — of the central role your delegation has been playing for the last six months and of the close ties my delegation and yours have established since my arrival six months ago. Therefore, it is needless to emphasize how thankful we are for the central role your delegation has been playing and for the commendable dedication of Your Excellency to the cause of my country, of Africa in general and of the United Nations as well.

We think, Sir, that if you carry on with this momentum, our people, our Government and the other main actors in my country might be in a position to finally reach the ultimate goal — not only the dialogue that we have been proposing and on which we have been insisting, but specifically, and most importantly, the ultimate goal, which is national reconciliation.

The President: I thank the Ambassador of Burundi for the very kind words he addressed to me and to my delegation.

There are no further speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3640

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3640th Meeting
Friday, 8 March 1996, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Legwaila	(Botswana)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. He Yafei
	Egypt	Mr. Awaad
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Włosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1996/149)

96-85220 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1996/149)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Rwanda, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1996/149.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/177, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1996/132, letter dated 23 February 1996 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1996/176, letter dated 6 March 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter dated 1 March 1996 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Rwanda, on whom I now call.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report of 29 February 1996 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The report shows a positive evolution of the political and economic situation in Rwanda.

At the close of the United Nations peace-keeping mission in Rwanda, UNAMIR leaves behind a country and citizens determined to rebuild a new Rwanda and assume fully their responsibility for a better future.

In spite of the catastrophe that affected the country and resulted in the loss of one-eighth of its population and the total destruction of the economic infrastructure, the judicial system and Rwandese society, I must admit, with great pride, that Rwanda has risen from its ashes with all the indications of becoming an even stronger nation and a credible partner.

The achievements since the genocide have been major ones. The Rwandese people have succeeded in laying the foundation of a new society by setting up a coalition Government and a Parliament which are representative of all political groups. This is a major sign of the beginning of a process of national reconciliation.

For the first time the Government of Rwanda has established a policy of repatriation of refugees. Before 1994 more than a million Rwandese refugees lived outside the country. Those refugees were denied their right to return to their homeland by the former regime, which, moreover, organized, planned and masterminded the genocide.

The present Government is committed to the unconditional return of all Rwandese nationals to their motherland. The Government has translated its commitment to the return of refugees into action through the following measures: advocating national reconciliation; the restoration of security within our borders; discouraging revenge through enforcement of law and order; promoting a culture of transparency by allowing UNAMIR, non-governmental organizations, human rights monitors and the media freedom of movement throughout the country; enforcement of laws governing property rights; and resettlement and reintegration of returnees into the civil service, the national army and other areas of economic life.

These measures have already led to the return of the phenomenal number of 2.3 million refugees in only one year, including the former refugees who had been outside the country since 1959.

On the issues of justice and human rights, the rehabilitation of the judicial system continues to be one of the main priorities of the Government of Rwanda. Some action has been taken in adopting appropriate legislation. At the end of 1995, 643 judicial personnel were trained.

Regarding the future, the Government and people of Rwanda look forward to the effective implementation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda as a major step in healing the wounds of genocide. Only true justice would allow Rwanda to heal and rebuild a new society.

Concerning internal security, the Government of Rwanda has already started to reorganize and strengthen the gendarmerie and the police, and it intends to proceed with the demobilization of part of the army.

Economically, significant progress has been made in just one year since the January 1995 donors' round-table conference for the reconstruction of Rwanda. The gross domestic product increased by 20 per cent in 1995, after a recession of 40 per cent in 1994, reaching three-fourths of the level of the gross domestic product before the crisis.

These achievements have been accomplished with the support of some countries which did not hesitate to help Rwanda's reconstruction efforts. Among them, I would like to make special mention of Ireland, whose President has honoured Rwanda with two official visits — and the Netherlands and Germany, which have given appreciable assistance to Rwanda. The contributions of the United Kingdom and the United States have also been greatly appreciated. Our gratitude is also extended to Italy and Spain for their support.

Belgium, with its historic links to Rwanda, also made a contribution to the reconstruction of the country. I would also like to thank Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland for their tremendous support.

The delegation of Rwanda would like to thank countries which contributed troops to UNAMIR. I would like also to pay homage to the soldiers who lost their lives while trying to protect or to save the lives of Rwandese during the genocide, especially the Belgian soldiers who were assassinated by the genocidal regime.

Finally, I would like to pay homage to UNAMIR's Chief Commander, General Dallaire, for his efforts and those of his staff in Rwanda during the genocide.

The people of Rwanda thank all UNAMIR's personnel and the Secretary-General's Special Representative for what they have accomplished in Rwanda. Special mention must also be made of the efforts of the numerous African Governments that are setting a good example for the international community by arresting those accused of genocide in Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda would also like to express its gratitude to the eminent African figures and the leaders of African regional and subregional organizations, all of whom are playing a major role in helping to resolve the problems faced by Rwanda and the subregion. They are demonstrating the importance of dialogue in the reconciliation process.

Above all, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Rwandese people, who were repressed by a totalitarian regime that victimized them with repeated massacres, crowned by genocide. Homage must be paid to the survivors who have succeeded in living in harmony with others without taking revenge. And we must not forget the Rwandese who continue to exist in refugee camps against their will, prisoners of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

Special homage must be paid also to those Rwandese who stopped the genocide.

We take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for recommending the establishment of UNAMIR to the Security Council. We hope that the Secretariat will engage in a serious analysis of its most recent experience with UNAMIR in Rwanda in recent years — before and after the genocide. There is a need for a truthful and honest analysis, and a need to ensure that the right lessons are learnt from the worst experience a nation can face. These lessons will serve not only Rwanda, but all African countries — and all developing countries — which could face the same situation.

The Rwandese Government has done its duty with regard to UNAMIR. It is therefore with pride that the Government of Rwanda hands the UNAMIR troops back to the United Nations who served in Rwanda in a generally secure environment. In turn, we expect the Secretariat to comply with its obligation to Rwanda. Some of the issues raised by my Government have never received satisfactory attention. We would be grateful to

the Secretariat if appropriate solutions could be found to the remaining problems linked to UNAMIR.

As a follow-up to UNAMIR, the Government of Rwanda has accepted the most realistic proposal — from the Secretary-General — which is to maintain a small political office to support the Government's efforts to strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. It is an ambitious programme, but my Government will give all necessary support to that office, and is looking forward to defining, together with the Secretariat, the office's mandate.

In conclusion, the people and the Government of Rwanda are determined to work towards the reconstruction of their country and for the healing of Rwandese society. All cooperation in this area is welcome.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia associate themselves with this statement.

As the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) prepares to leave Rwanda, we must first of all recognize the great dedication of the Secretary-General; of his Special Representative, Ambassador Shaharyar Khan; of the Force Commander; of all the troop-contributing countries, and of the Blue Helmets themselves. Their devotion in carrying out, under trying circumstances, the tasks they were assigned deserves our utmost praise.

The report of the Secretary-General tells us that relative calm and stability prevail throughout Rwanda and that the country has made significant progress towards a return of normal living conditions. However, a number of serious outstanding issues remain unresolved: the return of refugees, the rehabilitation of the judicial system — and the related issue of overcrowding in the prisons — should be addressed as a matter of priority, in order to achieve national reconciliation and thus the necessary future stability.

The European Union wishes to underline once again the importance of the International Tribunal, which is fundamental to restoring a climate of trust and confidence in Rwanda. In this respect, we underline the need to assure protection for its personnel and its premises.

The European Union has supported the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Rwanda from the outset, and we agree with the assessment made by the Secretary-General in his report that Rwanda could have greatly benefited from a further phase of United Nations involvement in helping to consolidate peace and security. The Rwandan authorities, though, have decided that the time has come to address the problems differently. In this respect, we welcome Kigali's agreement to maintain a United Nations office, to be headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We strongly believe that the international community will continue to contribute to Rwanda's efforts towards full normalization. As in the past, the European Union — which is the largest donor, in terms both of humanitarian and of development assistance — is ready to offer its concrete contributions towards this end.

One of the main priorities of the future United Nations presence in Rwanda will remain supporting the efforts of the Kigali Government to promote national reconciliation. The draft resolution on which the Security Council is about to vote clearly addresses this concern. The office — which will rightly include the present United Nations communications system and radio station — will serve the purpose of supporting the Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. The office will also play a useful role in coordinating all United Nations efforts towards this end.

We note with satisfaction the continuation of the United Nations human rights operation in Rwanda, which has the full support of the Kigali authorities. The European Union attaches fundamental importance to this activity, as is made manifest by the fact that it is currently contributing most of the funding of the operation.

I shall conclude by stressing, once again, the importance the European Union attaches to the continuation of efforts for the careful preparation and convening of a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region, of which mention is made in the draft resolution. I wish to recall, in this regard, the recent appointment of Mr. Aldo Ajello as special envoy of the European Union for the Great Lakes region.

The travails that Rwanda has undergone over the past two years cannot be overstated, but massive challenges still remain, of which the greatest is the safe return of refugees. We believe that the United Nations

must continue to play its part in addressing these challenges. We therefore welcome the draft resolution.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We are grateful to the representative of Rwanda for his statement, and particularly for the conviction with which he told us of his country's determination to overcome the legacy of the tragedy it has suffered in recent years.

One of the most difficult decisions that the Security Council faces in the course of its work relates to the timeliness of taking action: when it should be involved in an issue, or withdraw, and how it is to do so — what in English is called "timing".

Unfortunately, Rwanda has acquired in the eyes of international public opinion the image of one of those occasions when action was taken too late to prevent genocide, which the whole world grieved over. We hope that the decision we are about to take, at the request of the Government of Rwanda, is the right one.

The Secretary-General in his report of 29 February 1996 refers to the situation in Rwanda, stating that calm and stability have continued to prevail throughout the country, with the exception of areas bordering Zaire. He adds that since the end of the war various economic and social indicators have improved substantially, which in principle gives the Security Council confidence in its decision last December to put an end to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) today. We congratulate Rwanda on this development.

UNAMIR's mandate does indeed end today. This should be a source of satisfaction to the people and Government of Rwanda, and to the international community, since the conclusion of a United Nations peace-keeping operation should indicate that its mission has been fulfilled and that the situation in the country is returning to normal. The Government of Chile sincerely hopes that this is the scenario for Rwanda.

As UNAMIR concludes its mandate we must pay public tribute to those who have been part of it: to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Shaharyar Khan; to General Romeo Dallaire, General Guy Tousignant and Brigadier-General Shiva Kumar, who recently commanded the peace-keeping force; and to the troops, observers and other personnel of UNAMIR from various countries, among which India, Ghana, Nigeria and Malawi stand out, because of their numbers. We do not forget Canada, which withdrew a short time ago, and Belgium, which suffered serious losses.

UNAMIR has assisted the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the repatriation of refugees; provided protection to the International Tribunal for Rwanda; and helped to restore the basic infrastructure and to rehabilitate essential sectors of the economy. The Secretary-General reports that in addition UNAMIR by its presence has provided a sense of security and confidence to the personnel of the different agencies working in the country.

None the less, the Secretary-General also reminds us that some important problems remain to be resolved. The main one — undoubtedly the most serious, the most complex and the one which could bring the most problems in future — is that of the 1.7 million refugees. It is also noteworthy that much remains to be done in order to achieve major national reconciliation.

Taking into consideration the expressed desire of the Government of Rwanda and the points made by the Secretary-General in his report, the Security Council is about to adopt a draft resolution that Chile supports. Before referring to some aspects of it, I would like to thank the United Kingdom delegation for the submission of its draft and for the broad consultations on the draft resolution now before us.

With the aim of continuing the United Nations presence in Rwanda, and continuing to cooperate with the Government of Rwanda in carrying out the difficult tasks that are still outstanding, the Security Council encourages the Secretary-General to maintain in Rwanda a United Nations office, to be headed by his Special Representative, for the purpose of supporting the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure, and of coordinating all the United Nations efforts in Rwanda to that end.

I believe it is important to mention here an explicit reference by the Secretary-General to the problem of refugees. We should remember that the Government of Rwanda and the UNHCR will no longer have the support of the UNAMIR contingent in the return of refugees. An appeal is therefore made to all the States and agencies concerned to provide humanitarian assistance to the refugees and displaced persons, and to facilitate their early safe, voluntary and organized return to their own country.

There is another aspect which we feel is of special importance. It must be borne in mind that one agency that could cooperate in this process is the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR), which is doing commendable work and is deployed in 10 of the 11 prefectures. If coordination with the United Nations office, the UNHCR and the Government of Rwanda is to continue with the efficiency that has existed so far, the Human Rights Field Operation must have the necessary resources. This is reflected in the draft resolution.

I wish to conclude by saying that Chile is pleased to support this draft resolution. It would be major progress if the situation in Rwanda ceased to be on the Council's agenda and if instead there were a significant strengthening of the commitment to Rwanda by the rest of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies, in the framework of an agenda for the country's development.

Making this a reality will be in the good hands of the people and leaders of Rwanda.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Germany of course supports the statement Italy made on behalf of the European Union, and I do not wish to duplicate it.

In his last report on UNAMIR the Secretary-General says:

> "When Rwanda emerged from civil war and genocide with the establishment of the Government of National Unity on 19 July 1994, conditions in the country were nothing short of disastrous." *(S/1996/149, para. 41)*

We fully agree with his assessment. It therefore comes as a relief that the Secretary-General goes on to say:

> "Today, conditions in Rwanda are returning to normal". *(Ibid., para. 42)*

We also agree with him that this progress has been achieved essentially through the efforts of the people of Rwanda.

At the same time, we think it is appropriate today, when the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda comes to an end, to pay tribute to all those who have served in and supported this mission. We also acknowledge the work done by Ambassador Khan, the Secretary General's Special Representative, and his staff. The many hours the Council has spent in the past discussing the situation in Rwanda would not have borne very much fruit had not the men and women in the field done their duty, and often more than that.

The relationship between the Government of Rwanda, the United Nations and the international community in a broader sense has not always been easy. After intensive discussions with Rwanda, the Council decided in resolution 1029 (1995) that UNAMIR should be withdrawn from Rwanda after 8 March 1996. At that time it seemed to us that after this date there would not be much scope for United Nations peace-building activities in Rwanda. In the meantime, in his letter (S/1996/176/annex) of 1 March 1996 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Rwandese Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation clearly stated the need for what he rightly calls "post-genocide peace building". Germany welcomes his statement. It enabled the Security Council to draft the draft resolution before us, which is based on Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.

The draft resolution is a response to the fact, that despite all the progress made, much remains to be done in Rwanda, and that the assistance of the international community continues to be needed in this regard. The maintenance of a United Nations office will allow the United Nations to support, in a coordinated manner, what the Government of Rwanda is doing to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure.

In this context, we stress the importance of the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda, which constitutes a true confidence-building measure. The inclusion of the present United Nations radio station in the United Nations office will also contribute to the continued dissemination of constructive information. The present United Nations communications system will continue to operate in the framework of the United

Nations office, and thus offer much-needed support for those involved in the reconstruction of Rwanda.

Individual Governments and organizations other than the United Nations are called upon to continue their own efforts in assisting Rwanda. Germany has in the past made its contribution, totalling about $200 million. I gratefully acknowledge the thanks of our Rwandese colleagues. Germany will also do its utmost to help in the future.

We welcome the fact that remaining elements of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda will, prior to their withdrawal, contribute to the protection of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. After their withdrawal new arrangements will need to be agreed upon.

In his last report on UNAMIR, the Secretary-General announced, in response to a request made by the Security Council that he would shortly submit recommendations to the General Assembly regarding non-lethal UNAMIR equipment that can be released for use in Rwanda. This intention is fully in line with the purpose of the draft resolution; the release of UNAMIR equipment will be a contribution to the rehabilitation efforts in Rwanda. The General Assembly will have to decide on the scope of this measure. This decision will be taken on the basis of existing rules and regulations. It is our hope, however, that the decision will also take into account the tremendous needs of Rwanda in this respect. The German Government is currently discussing with the United Nations Secretariat pragmatic options for the release of German equipment for further use in Rwanda.

Germany will vote for the adoption of the draft resolution.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The mind cannot easily erase the tragic events of 1994 in Rwanda. Rwanda has taken significant steps forward since then, and it is a tribute to the people and Government of Rwanda that the Secretary-General's recent report talks of the climate of relative normality and stability which now prevails.

The United Nations and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda have played an important part in helping to restore confidence and stability in Rwanda, and it is right that the Security Council should pay tribute today, on the expiry of the final mandate of that Force, to all those who have served in it. The draft resolution before the Council also addresses aspects of UNAMIR's withdrawal. We attach particular importance to the continued protection which UNAMIR will provide to the personnel and premises of the International Tribunal until the withdrawal is complete. We also attach importance to early clarification from the Secretariat of the precise arrangements for protection of the Tribunal which will be put in place after that withdrawal.

Another question addressed in the draft resolution is that of UNAMIR equipment, some of which may be left in Rwanda. It is very important that United Nations rules be followed in this area, but within those rules we hope that flexibility can be shown and ways found to benefit Rwanda.

The central purpose of the draft resolution, however, is to place the weight of this Council behind the Secretary-General's proposal, now agreed by the Government of Rwanda in the welcome letter of 1 March from Foreign Minister Gasana, to the continued maintenance of the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Rwanda. We have also heard the welcome words of the Permanent Representative of Rwanda today, expressing his Government's cooperation with the Secretary-General's office.

There is much that the United Nations can and should continue to do in Rwanda to assist that country in facing the challenges of reconstruction, national reconciliation and the return of refugees. We foresee the United Nations office playing a central role in this work. We think it important that it include the present United Nations radio station. We encourage the Government and people of Rwanda to cooperate closely with the Special Representative and his staff as they pursue the goals set out in the draft resolution.

While stability in Rwanda is the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda, the neighbouring States have their responsibilities as well. We therefore encourage all States in the region to cooperate closely with each other, particularly in the return of refugees, to help bring about a real prospect of lasting peace and stability in the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation has noted with satisfaction the partial stabilization in the situation in Rwanda that has occurred. We are pleased that the Rwandan people, after enduring the horrors of a genocide unprecedented in contemporary history, are gradually returning to normal life. In this regard, we pay due tribute to the efforts of the Government of Rwanda,

which, despite the most difficult conditions, has been able to achieve a number of positive results.

However, many problems have yet to be solved. The most acute of these is the problem of almost 2 million displaced persons and refugees, who, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, constitute one of the highest concentrations of refugees in the world. And as a result, there is still a potential threat of destabilization.

Obviously, this complex, large-scale problem can scarcely be properly resolved without the active cooperation of the international community. We therefore consider it appropriate to maintain a limited United Nations presence in Rwanda even after the final expiry today of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). We attach importance to the decision to establish, in agreement with the Government of Rwanda, a United Nations political office in that country to support the Rwandan Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. It is also important that the maintenance of a United Nations presence should be a major factor in strengthening confidence and stability. It would also ensure that the United Nations would be able to keep abreast of developments in the situation and learn in good time of any risk of a deterioration.

We expect that the withdrawal of the major components of UNAMIR will be carried out according to schedule. We trust in this regard that the safety of the personnel of the International Tribunal, the specialized agencies and other international organizations and that of human rights observers — all of whose activities are of great significance in assisting the Rwandan Government's efforts to cope with the aftermath of genocide and civil war — will be assured.

On the whole, the Russian delegation believes that the draft resolution before the Security Council is adequate to the situation in Rwanda and to the requirements of a substantively new phase in the relationship between the Government of that country and the international community. We shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): My delegation pays tribute to the men and women of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for the dedication with which they have successfully completed their mission under trying conditions. We also express our deep appreciation to the troop-contributing countries for their commitment and invaluable service to the cause of the peace, stability and rehabilitation of Rwanda.

As the mandate of UNAMIR finally draws to a close, we are pleased to note the relative calm and stability prevailing in Rwanda. While acknowledging that the credit for this progress goes to the people of Rwanda, who have now assumed full responsibility for their own future, to paraphrase the representative of Rwanda, UNAMIR's indispensable role in consolidating peace and stability in Rwanda should not be overlooked. It is the climate of confidence and security created by the very presence of UNAMIR that has facilitated the rapid economic rehabilitation and the return to normalcy reported by the Secretary-General.

However, the improvement of the situation in Rwanda should not be taken for granted. There is a lot to be done if peace and stability is to take firm root and be made irreversible. Among a number of outstanding issues that need to be addressed, the most serious challenge confronting Rwanda today lies in the return and resettlement of the 1.7 million refugees sheltered in neighbouring countries. This is a matter which requires the firm commitment of the Government of Rwanda and continued international support. Lasting peace and stability will be elusive as long as the issue of refugees remains unresolved.

We underline the vital role and responsibility of the Government of Rwanda in fostering a climate of confidence, security and trust so as to facilitate the safe and voluntary return of refugees. We also consider it most important that States act in accordance with the recommendations adopted by the Conference on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in the Great Lakes Region, held at Bujumbura in February 1995, the Summit of Heads of States of the Great Lakes region held at Cairo in November 1995 and the follow-up conference of 29 February 1996 held at Addis Ababa.

My delegation attaches great importance to the rule of law, justice and security as central issues in rebuilding the social fabric of Rwanda. In this context, we welcome the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme in the rehabilitation of the justice system and the police training programme, as referred to in paragraphs 33 and 35 of the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/1996/149. The effective

operation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda is also essential in putting an end to the culture of impunity.

Peace and stability in Rwanda will remain fragile unless the country's socio-economic needs are properly addressed. Given that Rwanda cannot meet this challenge alone, we attach great importance to continued international support for Rwanda's economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. In this connection, the role of donor countries and United Nations agencies is essential.

In view of those challenges of the post-UNAMIR era confronting Rwanda, we believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in Rwanda even after the expiration of UNAMIR's mandate. In this regard, we welcome the agreement of the Rwandan Government to the establishment of a United Nations office for the purpose of supporting that Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. We believe that the maintenance of even a small United Nations office will have symbolic as well as practical significance, especially in demonstrating the United Nations commitment to lasting peace and stability and to the post-conflict reconstruction of the country. We request the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the establishment of a United Nations office in full consultation with the Government of Rwanda.

We also welcome the Rwandan Government's wish to maintain the presence of the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR) after the withdrawal of UNAMIR. We believe the continued role of HRFOR is essential in creating an environment of security conducive to the return of refugees and to their resettlement.

The withdrawal of UNAMIR raises concern about the safety and security of United Nations personnel and other international staff serving in Rwanda. We would like to remind the Government of Rwanda of its responsibility for their safety and security. The protection of the personnel and premises of the International Tribunal for Rwanda is a matter of particular concern to all of us. My delegation would like to request the Secretary-General also to make the necessary arrangements to that end.

Regarding the disposition of UNAMIR's non-lethal equipment, arising from the withdrawal of UNAMIR, we would like to request the Secretary-General to give due consideration to the needs of Rwanda and to exert maximum flexibility in the application of the relevant rules in submitting his recommendations to the General Assembly.

Noting with satisfaction that the foregoing points are adequately reflected in the draft resolution before the Council, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Queta (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for the fine report he has submitted to the Security Council on the situation in Rwanda, pursuant to resolution 1029 (1995) of 12 December 1995. In that resolution, the Security Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a final period until 8 March 1996.

My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Rwanda, the Organization of African Unity, the humanitarian organizations, former Presidents Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania and Amadou Toumani Touré of Mali for their efforts in the quest for peace, stability and national reconciliation for the people of Rwanda.

In the same spirit, it would be wrong of me if I neglected both to highlight and to praise the remarkable work of UNAMIR.

Given the draft resolution before us, we must ask ourselves if everything has been settled and if the United Nations has anything further to do in Rwanda. Our answer is that it does not. The situation is relatively clam and stable — with the exception of the areas near the borders with Zaire — and we note also that great progress has been made in agricultural and industrial output, improving health conditions and so on.

Nevertheless, we feel that there remain a number of problems to be solved with the assistance of the international community: *inter alia*, the return of refugees and help for them when they do; the restoration of the justice system; and improving conditions in the prisons. We must also take into account the need to protect representatives of international organizations, including those of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the non-governmental organizations.

My delegation believes that we must keep an eye on the activities of the elements of the former Rwandese Government Forces, who could in fact jeopardize peace and stability in the country. If the international community were to abandon the Rwandese people at this stage, the result might be disastrous and it would also send a bad political signal, one that would have dire consequences.

Given the fragile humanitarian situation and our concern for human rights, the international community still has a very important role to play in Rwanda. That is why my delegation supports the draft resolution before the Council, since we are now convinced that it will make it possible for the justice system to be strengthened — for the return of refugees to be facilitated; for the national infrastructure to be rehabilitated and, ultimately, because it will make national reconciliation possible. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. He Yafei (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Rwanda is situated in the middle of Africa, is rich in natural resources and its people are renowned for their industry. As a result of the tireless efforts of the Government and people of Rwanda — and with the assistance of the international community, including the United Nations — that war-ravaged country has finally set out along the path of peace, reconstruction and development. Its industrial and agricultural outputs are gradually returning to normal, and its public transportation and water and electricity systems are being restored. In this regard, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), in the two years of its existence, has, in cooperation with the Government of Rwanda, made its contribution to the restoration of peace and stability.

The core issue now for Rwanda is the achievement of national reconciliation, in which the repatriation of refugees remains the most important element. We should like to express our appreciation of and support for the efforts being made by the Government of Rwanda and the countries of the Great Lakes region in this regard.

At the request of the Government of Rwanda and in accordance with the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, UNAMIR is about to withdraw from Rwanda. After it does, and with the consent of the Rwandan Government, the United Nations will establish a political office, through which the United Nations will support the Government's efforts to promote reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and help rebuild the country's infrastructure. We believe that this change is in the interests of the Rwandan people.

The Government and people of Rwanda are still faced with extremely difficult tasks. By relying first and foremost on themselves, they can facilitate the repatriation of refugees through national reconciliation. Also, the international community should continue, through the various means at its disposal, to show its concern for the people of Rwanda and should continue to help them achieve political and social stability. The draft resolution before the Council reflects this basic issue and, in line with our consistent position of supporting the peace process in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation will vote for it.

The people of Africa have had more than their share of conflict and turmoil and need a peaceful, united and stable internal and external environment. China has always followed developments in Africa very closely and believes that a stable and developed Africa is in the best interests of peace and stability for the whole world. China attaches great importance to Africa and supports the people of Africa in their struggle for self-reliance, for a peaceful environment and good governance; and for the reconstruction and development of their economies. And that is why we actively support the peace process in Rwanda.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Only a few days ago, the Security Council adopted a resolution concerning Burundi. Today, we are debating a draft resolution on Rwanda, another country in the Great Lakes region. What unites these resolutions is their common purpose: ensuring peace and stability in this extremely volatile part of Africa.

We welcome the increasing signs of normalcy in the internal situation in Rwanda and also the improvement in Rwanda's relations with its neighbours. We value the positive role that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has played in restoring a climate of relative stability in the country after its terrible experience of civil war and genocide. We pay a tribute to the UNAMIR personnel, who have made great efforts to help Rwanda recover, and who have worked in extremely difficult conditions. Although we are encouraged by the progress towards normalcy in Rwanda, we must not lose sight of a number of issues, which, if they are to be solved, require particular attention and urgent action on the part of the Rwandese Government, with the assistance of the international community.

The voluntary and safe return of the 1.7 million Rwandan refugees is the most important factor for progress towards national reconciliation, and, at the same time, a return is essential if the general security situation in the Great Lakes region is to be improved. We remain seriously concerned at the slow pace of the voluntary repatriation process, which still lacks the necessary momentum. The underlying causes of the refugees' unwillingness to return home can be addressed only by the Government of Rwanda, by restoring peace and stability and promoting a climate of confidence and trust within the country. This can be achieved only by improving the workings of the judicial system and by strengthening law enforcement.

Since the disaster of 1994, Rwanda has faced the huge tasks of economic recovery, reviving its administrative and educational systems and rebuilding its public utilities. The international community, together with UNAMIR, has supported the steps taken by Rwanda in areas that are vital for the future of the country. Today we can welcome the Rwandan Government's assurances that it will succeed in dealing with all the tasks I have mentioned, and we recognize its pre-eminent role in that process. After all, it is the Government that must assume primary responsibility for reconstructing Rwanda and for ensuring genuine national reconciliation.

Nevertheless, we believe that, notwithstanding the imminent end of UNAMIR, in view of the enormity of the tasks that must be carried out in Rwanda, the United Nations should have a presence there. We would even have been willing to consider extending UNAMIR's mission to continue a peace-keeping type of operation.

Out of respect for the Rwandan Government's commendable efforts to reconstruct its country, we are in favour of maintaining a United Nations office in Rwanda with the aim of supporting the Rwandan Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, facilitate the return of refugees, improve the judicial system, rehabilitate the country's transport, communications and other infrastructure, coordinate the activities of relief organizations; the office would also have the task of monitoring the situation there.

In our view, the mandate of the United Nations office in Rwanda, as set out in the draft resolution before us now, addresses Rwanda's urgent needs and is an adequate response to the wishes of its Government.

In conclusion, I should stress that, once UNAMIR's mandate is finally over, the problem of ensuring the safety and security of the international Commission of Inquiry, the International Tribunal for Rwanda and all United Nations personnel — and of all the other expatriate staff working in the country — becomes all the more important. I must stress that responsibility for this important aspect of the internal situation lies with the Rwandan Government.

Recognizing as it does the need for a continued presence in Rwanda on the part of the international community, the Polish delegation will vote for the draft resolution before the Council now.

I should add that we associate ourselves with the statement made by the representative of Italy on behalf of the European Union.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to keep the Security Council abreast of developments in Rwanda over the course of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). His report (S/1996/149) of 29 February 1996 contains invaluable information about and an analysis of the extent of Rwanda's achievements and the obstacles that it must still overcome if it is to achieve genuine national reconciliation. In a more immediate sense, the report provides the Council with a number of innovative options as we explore and evaluate future opportunities for the United Nations and the international community in Rwanda after UNAMIR's mandate is terminated.

As has been the case with many United Nations operations, UNAMIR shows how much can be achieved when cooperation prevails. It is as a result of the tireless and integrated efforts of the people of Rwanda; of UNAMIR; of other United Nations and international agencies and of non-governmental organizations that the Rwandan people's prospects for hope and peace are today that much brighter and more promising. Indeed, in a relatively short time, Rwanda has come a long way from its destructive civil war and tragic genocide, and this is reflected in the relative calm and stability that generally characterize the situation.

In this regard, my delegation welcomes the progress achieved in restoring basic infrastructure and rehabilitating vital sectors of the economy. We welcome the encouraging statistics from and positive developments in the fields of agriculture, health, industry, transportation and education. In this connection, my delegation calls on the international community to

continue to provide the necessary assistance for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Rwanda's infrastructure.

My delegation has always been of the opinion that dialogue and mutual trust are fundamental prerequisites for providing an environment conducive to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. We therefore encourage the parties within Rwanda to continue their dialogue, which is the appropriate means to promote national reconciliation.

We also attach great importance to the recent visits by officials between Rwanda and its neighbouring countries in the Great Lakes region. We view these increased contacts as valuable because they provide an opportunity to discuss and identify the underlying problems those countries share and to promote the normalization of relations between them.

While my delegation recognizes that substantial progress has indeed been achieved, the picture we painted would, however, be less than accurate and complete if we did not focus on some of the formidable challenges that still confront Rwanda. The most prominent of these is that of repatriating and resettling 1.7 million refugees. We note, however, that many refugees are finding it difficult to return to their homes because of their vivid fears resulting from past atrocities, and because of economic uncertainty. That being the case, my delegation cannot foresee any possibility of long-term peace unless this dire problem is resolved, for the refugee problem is indeed taking a severe toll of the resources of Rwanda's neighbouring States, and this in turn is fostering the general climate of instability. In order better to accommodate and expedite the voluntary return and safe repatriation of refugees, we believe that the Government of Rwanda should do its utmost to provide a climate of confidence, security and trust.

It is my delegation's view that a long-term peace will remain elusive until the perpetrators of genocide are brought to justice. In this connection, we consider the role of the International Tribunal for Rwanda to be indispensable. We therefore attach much importance to protection for its personnel and premises, and hope that the necessary arrangements will be concluded, before UNAMIR's complete withdrawal, between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations in order to provide sustained protection.

My delegation also wishes to emphasize the need to intensify initiatives to rehabilitate the judicial system. It is our view that a restructured system of justice will be conducive for national reconciliation and the return of refugees. We deem the forthcoming round-table meeting in Geneva, which is to focus on justice and security, capacity-building and the transition from humanitarian assistance to development, to be a step in the right direction. We are also encouraged by the proposed plan by the Rwandan Ministry of Justice to recruit legal advisors, establish special courts to handle genocide cases, and secure greater funding for personnel and equipment.

Alongside ways and means to bolster Rwanda's internal security, my delegation considers the promotion and protection of human rights to be a critical element for the safe repatriation of refugees. Without a doubt, in the absence of basic humanitarian guarantees voluntary repatriation will prove difficult. Given the important role the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR), together with the International Committee of the Red Cross, are playing in redressing violations of human rights and improving conditions for detainees, my delegation is concerned at the rapid rate of depletion of the voluntary funds needed for them to continue their work. While underlining the Government of Rwanda's intention to maintain HRFOR in Rwanda after UNAMIR's mandate expires, my delegation urgently calls on the international community to provide whatever resources they can to enable HRFOR to continue its activities.

In light of these considerations, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution before the Council today. We believe that the draft resolution provides assurances to Rwanda that the United Nations and the international community will continue to provide assistance by establishing a small political office. It is our view that such an office will prove to be a valuable factor for promoting national reconciliation, strengthening the judicial system, facilitating the return of refugees and rehabilitating Rwanda's infrastructure. In this connection, we commend the positive response by the Government of Rwanda to this proposal, and its acceptance of it, as set forth in the letter from the Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation to the Secretary-General (S/1996/176, annex).

My delegation also believes that a case can be made for permitting Rwanda to retain non-lethal UNAMIR equipment for productive purposes. This equipment, in our view, will be useful for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda. While we are fully cognizant of the procedures that govern the use of post-mandate

equipment of this kind, we none the less appeal to the General Assembly to be flexible, given the circumstances in Rwanda.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and all the personnel associated with UNAMIR. Their steadfast determination and ability to rise to the challenge under very difficult circumstances has indeed helped to lay the foundation for securing national reconciliation in Rwanda.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation regards it as encouraging that the situation in Rwanda is returning to normal. Little by little, the effects of the terrible tragedy experienced by the country in 1994 are being overcome, as can be seen in the advances achieved in the areas of production, health, public services and education. But the Rwandan Government still faces serious problems whose solution requires assistance from the international community, such as the return of more than a million and a half refugees, the achievement of national reconciliation, the improvement of the judicial system and of prison conditions, and an end to the destabilizing activities of elements of the former Rwandan Government.

We believe that much of the progress achieved thus far is due to the support lent by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to the restoration of the country's basic infrastructure in the areas of health, sanitation, demining and humanitarian assistance. Moreover, UNAMIR's presence has given representatives of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons a sense of security and confidence, which they need to carry out their work for the recovery of Rwanda.

As UNAMIR's mandate comes to an end, we believe that United Nations assistance will continue to be needed in order to promote a climate of peace in Rwanda and in order to undertake the tasks of rehabilitating and reconstructing the country. We therefore support the initiative of the Secretary-General, rightly reflected in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution now before the Council, to the effect that following UNAMIR's withdrawal, there should remain, with the agreement of the Government of Rwanda, a United Nations political presence, through an office to assist the Government in promoting national reconciliation, strengthening the judicial system, facilitating the return of refugees and rehabilitating the country's infrastructure.

The safe, voluntary repatriation of Rwandan refugees and the achievement of genuine national reconciliation are vital. Despite the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the countries of asylum to speed up the voluntary return of refugees, their flow remains a slow trickle, because of the continued intimidation in the refugee camps resulting from the presence of armed elements of the former Rwandese Government; because of the uncertainty over security in Rwanda; and because of the belief that the justice system is not yet functioning.

We therefore wish to emphasize how enormously important it is for the restoration of peace and for the process of national reconciliation that the Rwandan Government should promote the climate of confidence necessary to facilitate the return of refugees; that the States of the region should act in accordance with the recommendations of the Conferences on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons, held in Bujumbura and Addis Ababa; and that efforts should continue to be made to hold a regional conference for peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region.

My delegation believes that the United Nations should continue to play an active role in carrying out the tasks still outstanding in Rwanda, not only in support of the repatriation of refugees and their resettlement, but also in support of justice, human rights and national reconciliation, the creation of an institutional capacity in the country and efforts to rehabilitate the infrastructure. We also believe that it is essential that States and organizations continue their assistance for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country through the United Nations Trust Fund for Rwanda.

For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Council.

I wish to conclude by acknowledging all the efforts made for peace in Rwanda by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Commander of the UNAMIR forces and all the civilian and military personnel of the United Nations who have taken part in the Mission.

The President: I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1996/177.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1050 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation supported the draft resolution that has just been put to the vote. This resolution will enable the Secretary-General to create, with the agreement of the Rwandan authorities, a political office that will succeed the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), whose mandate is ending today.

France would like above all to pay tribute to those who have served the Organization within this operation, which lent valuable assistance to the Rwandan Government in its task of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country. We salute those who lost their lives in the service of the United Nations in Rwanda.

Since the tragic events of 1994, Rwanda, after a long period of unrest, seems gradually to have regained calm and stability, as testified to by the Secretary-General in his last report. We welcome this development.

Of course, much remains to be done. National reconciliation is still essential. We noted with particular interest the repeated references made by the representative of Rwanda to this urgent need for national reconciliation. This is a crucial effort, for we believe that Rwanda will know peace and stability only when it has found a way of involving in the life of the country all the Rwandans who were devastated by the events of 1994.

In this spirit, the refugee question must be resolved as soon as possible. A country cannot look to the future as long as a quarter of its population is living on its borders, in camps where some are plotting revenge. The Rwandan Government must convince those who could return home to do so, and ensure that they have the security they expect.

It is urgent that the war criminals be brought before the International Tribunal. Thousands of men and women are now in prison, and the suspicions surrounding them must be checked. Sentencing the perpetrators of genocide should make it possible to exonerate many of them.

To carry out all these tasks, the Government of Rwanda wanted the United Nations to maintain only a political office there. We would have preferred, naturally — as the Secretary-General outlined in his report (S/1996/149) — that these tasks should continue to be entrusted to UNAMIR, as we feel that the United Nations operation still had a useful role to play in Rwanda. Through its presence, it could have contributed to accelerating further the return of refugees, a task which has seemed more important with every passing month.

The presence of a political office in Rwanda, however, will enable the United Nations to continue to give assistance to the Government of Rwanda in the areas which we have just mentioned, for the Government of Rwanda will have to go on building up its efforts. National reconciliation in Rwanda implies dialogue with Rwandans outside the country who wish to return, although not, of course, with the perpetrators of genocide. However, there will be no real security in the region either unless all the humanitarian and political problems of the region find an overall solution.

We had this fact in mind when we welcomed the meeting in Cairo of the Heads of State of the countries in the region. We are pleased that the Tunis meeting involved the United Nations as an observer. We continue, for our part, to feel that a Conference on Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region, under the auspices of the United Nations and in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and bringing together the countries of central Africa and donor countries, would be useful. We hope that this will be the outcome from the negotiations of the group of Five at Tunis.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): I shall begin by welcoming the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations to the Council's deliberations, and express our appreciation for his statement here today. It is good to see him again in the Council Chamber.

Today the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Rwanda draws to a close. Tomorrow the United Nations begins a new era of relations with the Government of Rwanda, a relationship founded on mutual respect for human rights and a mutual commitment to peace.

When the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was created, it was to oversee a peace agreement, the Arusha Accords. However, the former Rwandese government did not honour the Arusha Accords; instead, Rwanda spiralled downward into the worst genocide in Africa.

Rwanda has not fully recovered from that genocide. Indeed, it will take years for that to happen, especially for Rwanda's children. An article in today's *New York Times*, by Barbara Crossette, is instructive in this regard. It is entitled

> "U.N. Assesses Psychic Scars Left on Rwandan Children by Killings."

The article reports on a survey conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund of 3,000 Rwandan children who witnessed violence up close, more than a quarter of whom saw parents or other family members killed, many of them beaten or hacked to death with machetes. As the *Times* reports, no aspect of the war left children untouched, and experts say that to heal the deep psychological wounds, Rwanda's children will need some sense of community and a taste of normal life. It is my Government's hope that, as we enter the post-UNAMIR period, the international community and the United Nations will be able to help contribute to the sense of community and normalcy that is so desperately needed by Rwanda's children.

Despite formidable obstacles, the Government of Rwanda has made great progress in bringing peace and security to its country. UNAMIR has made a significant contribution to that progress. The international community must continue to help with the hard tasks ahead. The resolution lays a solid foundation for continuing cooperation between the United Nations and Rwanda in a new form. After UNAMIR departs, the United Nations will maintain a political office in Rwanda headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The Special Representative will have the authority to coordinate United Nations agencies that will be involved in reconstruction and development activities, and will play an active role to promote national reconciliation. We hope that the Special Representative will vigorously exercise his authority to head the United Nations programme in Rwanda.

There cannot be long-lasting peace and stability for Rwanda — indeed for the entire region — unless the 1.7 million Rwandan refugees return to Rwanda. The Special Representative should encourage repatriation as one of his highest priorities as he coordinates the work of all United Nations agencies in Rwanda, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme.

Human rights monitors have played an important role in maintaining international confidence in the protection of human rights in Rwanda. It is a significant sign of the commitment of the Government of Rwanda to human rights that it not only accepts human rights monitors in Rwanda, but that it welcomes them and has asked them to stay. This decision is concrete evidence in support of the Government's public statements that it wants all Rwandans to return home.

Rwanda's needs are many. One of them is for justice. We must ensure that sufficient resources are available to the International Tribunal for Rwanda so that it can accomplish its difficult task with as much speed as justice permits. The Tribunal will need additional funds to provide United Nations security guards for its personnel. We welcome the agreement of the Government of Rwanda to allow UNAMIR forces to continue to provide this security during the period of withdrawal. The thousands of prisoners in Rwanda's jails must also receive speedy trials.

We also note the important work of the Commission of Inquiry to investigate reports of the sale or supply of arms to former Rwandan government forces. The Commission has been doing excellent work and is also fulfilling an important deterrent function, but the Commission has not had the benefit of full cooperation from all Rwanda's neighbours. We call on all States to offer the Commission their fullest support.

As the UNAMIR mandate expires and the draw-down of personnel enters its final phase, we note that differences remain between the Secretariat and the Government of Rwanda concerning the disposition of equipment, and concerning financing. We urge them to resolve those differences as soon as possible on a mutually satisfactory basis so that they will not interfere with the work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and his political office as the new relationship of the United Nations and the Government of

Rwanda begins. The new relationship should start off on the right foot for all concerned.

Today's resolution marks an important, positive step in the journey of the Rwandan people out of the abyss of genocide. The international community is replacing soldiers with teachers and trainers to help with the new challenges. The new United Nations political office is a symbol both of how far the Rwandan people have come and of our commitment to help them go the rest of the way. We look forward to a future when all the Rwandan people live together in peace.

Lastly, on behalf of the United States Government, I would like to pay a tribute to all the United Nations personnel who have served in UNAMIR, under difficult and at times dangerous conditions, and especially the leadership provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, and the gallantry of the Force Commanders, two brave soldiers of Canada, General Romeo Dallaire and General Guy Tousignant.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: The Security Council has just adopted a very sensitive resolution concerning the withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) from that country, a fraternal African country that has witnessed one of the most terrible human tragedies in contemporary history. Like the wide-ranging discussion about the role the international community should play in preventing the terrible massacres and genocide we saw in Rwanda the year before last, today we have had an equally wide-ranging discussion on whether or not now is the right time for UNAMIR to withdraw.

However, as members of the Security Council we must respond to the request of the Rwandan Government and withdraw the Mission. It is for the Rwandan Government to make that decision, and we must respect it.

Although the Security Council has decided to end the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, our attention should not be diverted from one fact: if, for whatever reason, the international community failed to prevent the massacres, the presence of the United Nations in Rwanda after the crisis was very useful. This has been proved by United Nations assistance in protecting those repatriated to Rwanda; in re-establishing the infrastructure to provide health and education services; in training the police force; and in demining.

The Egyptian delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in extending relief and humanitarian assistance to the people of Rwanda in their trials and tribulations.

The Egyptian delegation expresses its full appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General of 29 February 1996 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The report contains a precise and objective analysis of events in Rwanda over the past two months at the political, humanitarian and military levels. The report also contains a vision of the future role of the United Nations in Rwanda — a role which, in our opinion, is no less important than the positive role played from the beginning of the UNAMIR mission in October 1993 until the present. Indeed, it is a source of satisfaction for us that the report of the Secretary-General states that relative calm and stability prevail in most areas of Rwanda, with the exception of areas close to the borders, and that promising progress is being made in the areas of agriculture, health services and education.

We agree with the Secretary-General's assessment of the issues which are still faced by the Government of Rwanda, and which need to be dealt with. First, the Government of Rwanda must assume its responsibilities in facilitating the repatriation of more than 1.7 million refugees, re-establishing them in their country and guaranteeing their safety and property. That will be a very difficult and complex task. However, it is the key to stability in Rwanda. Secondly, Rwanda needs to make real and rapid progress towards achieving national reconciliation among all its people, and establishing the principles of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Thirdly, Rwanda must take effective measures to ensure law enforcement and strengthen the judicial system.

Despite the concrete efforts made by the Government of Rwanda and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, solving the first problem will be difficult, given the number of refugees and the obstacles to their return. Paragraph 45 of the report of the Secretary-General refers to the negative role played by elements of the former Rwandan army and organized militias in intimidating refugees and preventing their return. However, we must also understand the refugees' fear and their reluctance to return because of the lack of security within Rwanda. That is a national problem, and we believe that the Government of Rwanda bears the greatest responsibility for finding a solution.

The concern of the Egyptian delegation throughout the negotiations over the resolution we have just adopted was to underline the particular responsibility of the Government of Rwanda with regard to the return of refugees, especially during the post-UNAMIR period. The fact that the resolution does not specifically and clearly refer to guarantees for the return of the refugees does not mean that the Security Council will not take the necessary steps to safeguard their rights if the Council deems it necessary in the future. That is why it is essential that a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees be established through confidence-building and other measures, such as the provision of constructive information, and innovative ideas, such as organizing visits across the border and the monitoring necessary to guarantee property and safe return.

As for the role of the United Nations after the departure of UNAMIR, we fully support the establishment of an office in Kigali to provide assistance, as referred to in paragraph 43 (a) of the Secretary-General's report. It is encouraging that the Government of Rwanda has abandoned its former reservations in this respect and is ready to facilitate the role of the political office and to provide necessary assistance. We hope that we shall receive regular reports on developments.

Egypt has always affirmed that Rwanda cannot achieve stability without the regional and geographical dimensions being borne in mind. The problems faced by Rwanda today, foremost among them the refugee problem, have an impact that goes beyond the Great Lakes region. Solving those problems requires regional cooperation, with international support. We believe that the refugee problem in particular has a regional dimension, and that neighbouring countries should further extend their cooperation and coordination in this respect. We hope that the contacts which have taken place over the past two months between Rwanda and its neighbours will be a first step towards closer cooperation in the near future.

Egypt reaffirms its belief that any attempted solutions which disregard that fact can only be placebos, and not real answers. All those efforts, which were partly successful, to ensure the return of refugees were made by the United Nations within the context of collective cooperation between Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire.

As we are firmly convinced of these facts, the delegation of Egypt wishes to stress the need to ensure complete implementation of the decisions of the Bujumbura Conference, the Cairo Summit and the Addis Ababa follow-up conference held on 29 February last. We wish also to stress the importance of extending all possible assistance in all efforts to convene an international conference on peace, stability and development in the Great Lakes region, following the necessary preparatory work.

I wish in conclusion to note that the experience of the United Nations in Rwanda has taught us a critical lesson about the importance of preventive diplomacy and the need to remain committed to preventive measures in averting crises. Unfortunately, this Organization never had the equipment, the staff or the political will necessary to intervene successfully to prevent the human tragedy we witnessed in Rwanda. That situation must never be repeated.

The Egyptian delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Security Council has just adopted, despite the concerns we have expressed about ensuring and facilitating the return of refugees. We did so in solidarity with the Government of Rwanda and to support that Government in all its endeavours to establish stability. We hope that future developments will be positive and will dispel our concerns and fears, and that the people of Rwanda will overcome this crisis and embark on the road to development in all economic and social areas.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Botswana.

On 12 December 1995 the Security Council adopted resolution 1029 (1995), which, *inter alia*, adjusted the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and extended it for a final period until 8 March 1996. This was done in keeping with the formally expressed wishes of the Government of Rwanda. I must confess that my delegation was one of those which did not favour a precipitate departure of UNAMIR from Rwanda. We are therefore delighted that the United Nations will continue to play a significant role in assisting the Government of Rwanda to address the crucial issues of national reconciliation, the return and resettlement of refugees, and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the socio-economic infrastructure of the country.

It was precisely because we realized that Rwanda still needed the assistance of the international community in these areas that we were reluctant to support an abrupt withdrawal of UNAMIR. Botswana is gratified that the Security Council has maintained its unanimity on this issue, which is of vital importance to the peace, security and stability of the Great Lakes region. It is our hope that the Government of Rwanda will continue to cooperate with the United Nations for the benefit of the *Banyarwanda*.

It is clear from the foregoing that the end of UNAMIR's mandate does not in any way imply that the difficulties and challenges facing the Government and the people of Rwanda are over. The return of the refugees will obviously be one of the most intractable of these challenges. Botswana strongly believes that there can be no peace and stability in Rwanda so long as one third of its population lives in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. Concerted efforts are required to ensure the early return of the 1.7 million refugees. We note the tremendous efforts being made by the Government of Rwanda in the promotion of national reconciliation and in rebuilding a country shattered by one of the worst acts of human behaviour ever witnessed in the latter part of this century. They deserve our commendation for the successes they have scored so far in very difficult circumstances. The Rwandese should now engage in earnest in the process of consolidating the relative peace and stability that now obtain in the country and in the building of a new society based on justice and the rule of law.

In this connection, the strengthening of the judicial system is one of the key elements in the whole process. The continuing support of the international community will be crucial all the way. "Post-genocide peace-building" in Rwanda remains the primary concern and a major responsibility for both the Government of Rwanda and the international community. Recent experience has shown that while peace cannot, or should not, be built without justice, the presumption of innocence of the accused remains the cornerstone of any fair judicial system.

My delegation has on several occasions in the past stated that the problems facing Rwanda have subregional dimensions which must be addressed urgently by the countries of the Great Lakes region. The return of the refugees, for instance, can proceed smoothly only if there is close consultation and cooperation with the States hosting them. It is an established fact that there is rampant intimidation in the refugee camps by elements of the former Government against those intending to return to Rwanda. The same elements also harbour ill intentions of undertaking military incursions into Rwanda. The international community must make it abundantly clear to these elements that the withdrawal of UNAMIR does not in any way mean the abrogation of the measures it undertook through the relevant Security Council resolutions to bring an end to intimidation in the refugee camps and to the military activities against Rwanda. In fact, the arms embargo imposed under resolution 918 (1994) and extended to Rwandese nationals in neighbouring States by resolution 1011 (1995) remains in force.

The Security Council still awaits a report of the International Commission of Inquiry, which was established to

> "investigate reports relating to the sale or supply of arms and related materiel to former Rwandan Government forces ... in violation of Council resolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995)". (*resolution 1013 (1995), para. 1 (a)*)

All these measures can be implemented robustly only with the full cooperation of the neighbouring countries. In this context, the recent return by the Government of Zaire of some military equipment to Rwanda was a welcome development. We hope that it will have a salutary effect on the search for solutions of the remaining issues, especially the return of the refugees, and that it will mark a new era of rapprochement between the two brotherly countries.

My delegation would be in favour of the convening of a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the active participation of the Organization of African Unity. There is a great deal of international good will aimed at seeking a lasting solution to the problems of the Great Lakes region. The European Union, the Carter Center and former President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere have undertaken political and diplomatic efforts aimed at finding common ground on the convening of the conference. We fully support these commendable efforts and hope that the considerable time and energy expended in this endeavour, especially by former President Nyerere, will be crowned with success.

In conclusion, let me extend Botswana's congratulations to the men and women of UNAMIR for their contribution to the cause of peace in Rwanda. It was a mission haunted by an unfortunate past — events that everyone wishes had never happened and will never happen again — yet they made the best of that past that they could.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.